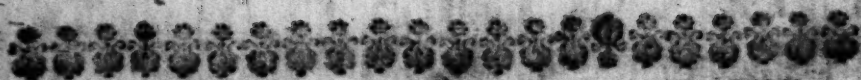


THE
ENGLISHMAN.

VOL. II.

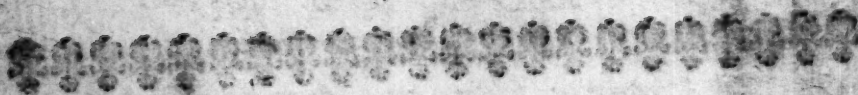




THE

ENGLISHMAN.

VOL. II



9/39
THE
ENGLISHMAN.

VOL. SECOND and LAST.

By Sir RICHARD STEELE.

Collected from the single PAPERS,
as they were published in 1715; and
printed at the sole Charge of the late
Sir RICHARD STEELE, 1716.

Now first Published together.

With an Original LETTER from the
late Earl of MAR to His late Majesty
K. GEORGE I, before his Arrival
in ENGLAND.

—Ex Me — Laborem
Fortunam ex aliis — Virg.

L O N D O N :

Printed for W. FEALES, at *Rowe's-Head*,
the Corner of *Essex-Street*, over-against St. Cle-
ment's Church, in the Strand; C. CORBETT, at
Addison's-Head, against St. Dunstan's Church, in
Fleet-Street; and W. WARNER, at *Dryden's-*
Head, next the *Rose-Tavern*, without Temple-Bar.

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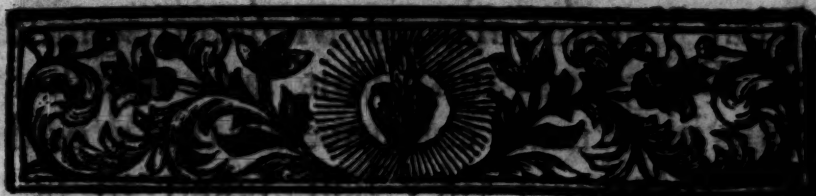
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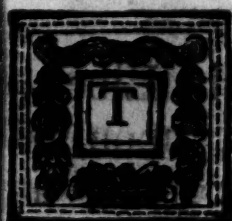
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PREFACE.



THE Former Volume of the
ENGLISHMAN was writ-
ten with a direct Intention to
destroy the Credit, and fru-
strate the Designs of Wicked
Men, at that Time in Power.

To insinuate that there are evil Pur-
poses in the Ministers of one's Coun-
try, is, in it self, a seditious and un-
warrantable Practice; but the apparent
Tendency of the Proceedings in the late
Times justified the Disrespect with which

the Officers of the State were then treated.

That Volume alarmed Mankind against their Designs; and This lays together Facts which must convince all the World of the Methods they had taken to accomplish them.

It is incumbent upon one, who had treated them so frankly when they were only suspected, to make good what He seemed to accuse them of, now their Actions are brought to Light.

There needs no Apology for the Liberty taken with their Characters, upon so good a Foundation as the Report of a Committee of the House of Commons.

It is no matter to the Author of the ENGLISHMAN, whether they are ever punished for what they have done, according to their Deserts. He has done all He could to make them live in Infamy, and after that, He cares not how long they live.

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But our Author's Behaviour upon some late Circumstances has been thought inconsistent with this Spirit ; and it has appeared unaccountable, that He who was thus violent against the Parricides, discovered, in a certain Place, Inclination to Lenity towards the Rebels.

For very many Reasons, that Matter is not to be resumed here ; but granting that He had declared for Mercy, it might possibly be, that his Heart failed against submissive Criminals, though He has appeared determinate against Triumphant Wickedness. It ordinarily happens that the same Men who make an Attack very bravely upon Troops in good Order, do least Execution upon them, when they are put to Flight, or ask Quarter. But I never heard it said, that they were the less Zealous for the Cause, or that they were held Deserters from the Service, because they have been over-run in pursuing a Defeat, by their Friends, who were in the Rear at the Onset.

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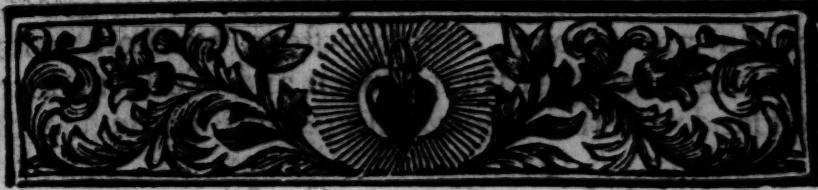
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 appeared determined against Tyranny
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 from the Service, because they have been
 taken in pursuing a Defecting Party.

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THE ENGLISHMAN.

N^o. I. *Monday, July 11. 1715.*



T may appear unaccountable, that the Title of a Paper which was laid down with the Author's Name to it, should be reviv'd again by an unknown Writer. But to tell the honest Truth, which is agreeable to the Character of an *Englishman*, this Name is assumed, because the Business of the World at present is much more proper to be considered under that Denomination than any other. Without regarding who may, or may not, be taken for the Anonymous Author of what shall hereafter come out every *Monday* and *Friday*; The *Englishman* appears to awaken the Spirit proper to his Name and Character,

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when His Enemies are just now detected, and the Representative Body of the Commons of Great-Britain are tracing the Footsteps of those who have lately betrayed their Queen and Country into the Hands of the French King; and made use of their Power, as Officers and Ministers of State, to no other end, but to become Conspirators against that Sovereign and that Nation, who had committed themselves to their Care and Direction.

In the Prosecution of this Treachery, they blinded their Fellow-Subjects with specious Names and Pretences, which not only supported them during the Time in which they were transacting their Iniquities, but have left also an Unwillingness in the People to hear the Proofs of their Fallhood, now they are manifestly detected. Hence it is, that tho' the Guilt against Us is no more to be disputed than that it is light at Noon-day, Men who are ashamed of having long thought well of the Conspirators, cannot be ingenuous enough to confess they were deceived, but stand in doubt what Names to give the several Instances of their Wickedness; and are wonderfully scrupulous of giving too harsh Appellations to Actions which could have no manner of Tendency, but to give these Realms into the Possession of the French King, and the Pretender. Thus are we every Day amused with this, or the like Sentences, *This is not Treason according to Law; This is not legal Evidence*: But when there is Proof that such an Action was done, and that this Action could have no other Effect, and could be done with no other Intent, than that single One of *Betraying the Nation*; and this Nation was accordingly Betrayed; and these Actions could be performed by no other but those who were then in the Administration

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tion, it is being scrupulous in what manner to kill Serpents, to hesitate about Form in Prosecuting such Criminals.

I must repeat, that tho' We know We have been Betrayed, and We know that none could have Betray'd Us but the Men who are accus'd of having done it, the Cause of Mankind and of common Justice has not so strong a Possession of the Minds of the deceived Multitude, as the Impressions which the Conspirators, during their Power, instilled into them, in order to deliver them up to the Bondage of *France*, and Superstition of *Rome*.

This Work is undertaken to Explain the false Arts which have been used against this injured Nation, and the false Men who used those Arts, by a plain State of Facts, in these little Half-Sheets, at a Time, when it is possible, there may be found Readers who will be attentive, and give the Cause of their Country a Quarter of an Hour twice a Week.

The Commons have been pleased, for the Information of the Publick, to print the *Report of the Committee of Secrecy*; and their worthy Speaker has added a Bounty to that Favour of the House, in bestowing the Copy on the Printers, that the Purchase of it may be more easy. From this ingenuous and generous Conduct of our Representatives, and their Speaker, it may be presum'd that this Report is purposely laid before the Nation, that we may freely Debate without Doors upon what has been Transacted in the Space of Time describ'd in that Report. I hope therefore it will be no Trespass against this Indulgence, to quote Passages out of it, or use its Authority to defend or blame Persons mentioned therein.

The Charge in general which may be drawn from this Report seems to be, That the late British Ministry, to the Loss of the Honour and Trade of their own Country, in the Name, but without the Authority, or sufficient Authority, of the Queen, entered into a separate Treaty of Peace with France, in Breach of the Grand-Alliance, and tho' under the Restraint of private Conditions to conclude with France, carry'd on a false Friendship with the Allies, in Subordination to, and in Concert with, the French Ministers, till they had, by distressing the Allies, and assisting the Enemy, reduced the said Allies to the Terms of the said Enemy; and, accepting a Renunciation, declared void by the Minister of France, have left the French and Spanish Crowns in the Actual Possession of the House of Bourbon, and promoted the Interests of the Pretender.

I shall in my future Papers make good this Charge to the Conviction of every Man living, and leave it to them to call the Guilty in this Case what they please; but will my self, till I have found a better Term, call them the *Parricides*. The Murder of a Parent is a Degree of this Offence against one's own Country; and I think the Old Roman, with design to raise the Horror of Blood and Nature against such Offenders, expressed the Betrayer of his Country, and the Butcher of his Father, by the same Word.

But since the Constitution, for the Protection of virtuous Men in High-Offices, supposes all Men Innocent, and secures to them suitable Privileges till regularly Condemned; these Malefactors, tho' evidently such, must not be spoken of but with Caution, in deference to those Privileges which they have in common with honourable Men, who are injured

injured with them, if they are Vilified before the Law has separated them from their illustrious Assembly.

We cannot therefore yet mention with unreserved freedom, a Gentleman to whom we principally owe that the *English* Name has been of late covered with dishonour, till the Nation has proceeded farther towards taking the Atonement for his Iniquity. Till then, we must give him to the Reader only in his Character; but when we have described him, whoever knows Mankind will be extremely at a loss how a Person who has neither Beauty in his Person, or Address, is particularly ungraceful in his manner of speaking, and who has no extent of Genius even in his Schemes and Dispositions of Business, should ever have made so great and formidable a Figure as to have it justly said of him, That he has done as much Mischief as any other Man that ever passed through Mortality before him. I know not of what other Being it can be said besides this Gentleman, that he has been both a *Corrupter* and *Destroyer*. But as he was born for our Punishment, and one part of it is, that it is from so mean an Hand we receive it, We must acknowledge that the Author of our Calamities was capable of being the Author of nothing but Calamity. He has ever appeared a Man of a confused Head, tho' of a very enterprising Genius. The Progress he has made is the more wonderful, in that he has rather concealed his own Thoughts, than accommodated himself to the Sense of others. His Falshood does not sit upon him like the Skill of a Man of the World, but the Hypocrisy of a Zealot.

As to his Talents, he has improved them only as it were by Hearsay. His Skill in Letters from the beginning of his Life has been like his Intelligence as a Politician in the busy part of it. He owes what Learning he has, to Pedants, and what Knowledge of the World he has, to Spies. This has rendered him always more fond of doing things extraordinary, than things proper; and his Ambition has all his Days inclined him rather to Enterprizes of Difficulty, than Laudable Actions.

As this Man has been possessed with a false Sense of Greatness, he has ever taken indirect Steps towards accomplishing his Ends, and infamous Measures have not been scrupled, to arrive at infamous Purposes.

Upon the whole of his Conduct, it will appear that the great Skill of his Life may be comprehended in the single Rule of *undermining Wisdom with Cunning, and overbearing Honesty with Impudence*. When a Man considers him more nearly, and reflects that in the whole Course of the Affairs in which he has been employed, tho' honoured with the greatest Stations, there cannot be recorded any one Transaction wherein he has acquitted himself with Clearness and Honour; I say, when a Man cannot but be convinced of this Truth, he cannot conclude any otherwise, than that his natural Disposition was turned rather to frustrate and destroy the Good Intentions and Actions of other Men, than exert any thing praise-worthy in himself. His Capacity is not fit for Day-light: It is like the Lanthorn of a Bravo, it carries at once Light and Darkness to guide and conceal him while he is doing Mischief; but is of no Use in honest and open Employment.

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The Sequel of these Papers will shew how a Person of such Principles and Dispositions, possessed of the Power of the greatest Monarch in the Alliance, could, tho' inconsiderable in Himself, confound all the Wisdom in the World; and with an hard Heart, under the direction of a wrong Head, overturn the best concerted Designs: And as if his own Country was too narrow a compass in which to be odious, extend his Art of doing Mischief to every Nation of *Europe*, and be the Blast of all that was Good and Vertuous, where ever the Power and Name of his Mistress could make way for his perverse and destructive Genius.

This would be a railing Accusation, if it appeared in any Part of the late Administration that the Errors of this Gentleman, and the rest employed by him, were the Mistakes of Men who intended honest things, or had been misled by the following what appeared to them good; but they have offended in Points wherein the meanest Peasant would have known the right of the Question. I shall draw together in the following Papers, under the Character of each Man concerned in this detestable Conspiracy, the Circumstances which shew the part he had in it, and place him in the Eye of his Country with his proportion of Guilt on his Head, that he may be severed from the rest of *Englishmen*, and the Ignominy due to a few Offenders against all the Nations of *Europe*, may no longer fall upon this, which is more particularly unhappy in that the Parricides and Foes of Mankind had their Birth in *Great-Britain*.

I will not suffer my Indignation to carry me away, but repeat that I doubt not but I shall make good, *That the late British Ministry, to the Loss of*

the Honour and Trade of their own Country, in the Name, but without the Authority or sufficient Authority of the Queen, entered into a separate Treaty of Peace with France, in Breach of the Grand Alliance; and, tho' under the Restraint of private Conditions to conclude with France, carry'd on a false Friendship with the Allies, in Subordination to, and in Concert with the French Ministers, till they had, by distressing the Allies, and assisting the Enemy, reduced the said Allies to the Terms of the said Enemy; and, accepting a Renunciation declared void by the Minister of France, have left the French and Spanish Crowns in the Actual Possession of the House of Bourbon, and promoted the Interests of the Pretender.

N^o. 2. Friday, July 15.

AFTER the heavy Crimes with which the *Englishman* has charged the late Ministers of *Great-Britain*, from the Report lately publish'd by the Commons in Parliament assembled, it is necessary He should lay before his Country-men, the Law, according to the Interpretation of which the most Guilty of them must be condemned, or acquitted.

In the 25th Year of that heroick Prince *Edward the Third*, the Subject obtained of him a Relief from the unhappy and precarious Condition in which their Lives stood before that time, by a Declaration of the several Sorts of Offences which should for the future be adjudged Treason. It is
worth

worth Three Half Pence to any Man in *England* to know this, therefore I shall set down the whole Declaration, and then give the natural Construction to the Words which concern the Gentlemen before us.

“ **W** Hereas divers Opinions have been before this time in what Case Treason shall be said, and in what not, the King, at the Request of the Lords and of the Commons, hath made a Declaration in the manner as hereafter followeth : That is to say, When a Man doth compass or imagine the Death of our Lord the King, or of our Lady his Queen, or of their eldest Son and Heir : Or if a Man do violate the King’s Companion, or the King’s eldest Daughter unmarried, or the Wife of the King’s eldest Son and Heir : Or if a Man do levy War against our Lord the King in his Realm, or be adherent to the King’s Enemies in his Realm, giving to them Aid and Comfort in the Realm or elsewhere, and thereof be probably attainted of open Deed by the People of their Condition : And if a Man counterfeit the King’s Great or Privy Seal, or his Money : And if a Man bring false Money into this Realm, counterfeit to the Money of *England*, as the Money called *Lusburgh*, or other like to the said Money of *England*, knowing the Money to be false, to Merchandise or make Payment, in deceit of our said Lord the King and of his People : And if a Man slay the Chancellor, Treasurer, or the King’s Justices of the one Bench or the other, Justices in Eyre, or Justices of Assize, and all other Justices assigned to bear and determine, being in their Places doing their Offices.

And it is to be understood, that in the Cases
above rehearsed that ought to be judged Treason
which extends to our Lord the King and His
Royal Majesty: And of such Treason the Forfeiture
of the Escheats pertaineth to our Lord, as
well of the Lands and Tenements holden of
other as of himself. And moreover there is another
manner of Treason, that is to say, When
a Servant slayerh his Master, or a Wife her Husband;
or when a Man Secular or Religious slayerh
with his Prelate, to whom he oweth Faith and
Obedience. And of such Treason the Escheats
ought to pertain to every Lord of his own Fee:
And because that many other like Cases of Treason
may happen in time to come, which a Man
cannot think nor declare at this present time; it
is accorded, that if any other Case, supposed
Treason, which is not above specified, doth happen
before any Justices, the Justices shall tarry,
without any going to Judgment of the Treason,
till the Cause be shewed and declared before the
King and his Parliament, whether it ought to be
judged Treason or other Felony. And if percase
any Man of this Realm ride Arm'd covertly or
secretly with Men of Arms against any other, to
slay him, or rob him, or take him, or retain him
till he hath made Fine or Ransom to have his
Deliverance; it is not the Mind of the King nor
his Council that in such case it shall be judged
Treason, but shall be judged Felony or Trespas,
according to the Laws of the Land of old time
used, and according as the Case requireth. And
if in such Case or other like before this time any
Justices have judged Treason, and for this Cause

the Lands and Tenements have come into the King's Hands as Forfeit, the chief Lords of the Fee shall have the Escheats of the Tenements holden of them, whether that the same Tenements be in the King's Hands, or in others, by Gift, or in other manner; saving always to our Lord the King, the Year, and the Waste, and the Forfeitures of Chattels, which pertain to him in the Cases above-named: And that the Writs of *Scire facias* be granted in such Case against the Land-Tenants, without any other Original, and without allowing any Protection in the said Suit: And that of the Lands which be in the King's Hands, Writs be granted to the Sheriff of the Counties where the Lands be, to deliver them out of the King's Hands without delay.

In the Days of King *Edward* there were not so many as at this time who make a Livelyhood of putting various Constructions upon plain Words. According to common Sense, the genuine Meaning of the Words *be adherent to the King's Enemies in his Realm, giving them Aid and Comfort in the Realm or elsewhere, and thereof be probably attainted of open Deed by the People of their Condition*, can be no other, than that if a Man becomes *as far the King's Enemy as to take part with his Enemies, and give Proof of his Inclination to advance the Cause of the King's Enemies by any Action of his, which shall satisfy his Peers that it is more probable he is guilty than innocent, such Action shall be adjudged High-Treason*: So that by this Law, when these are the Circumstances of the Man accused, and his Peers think thus of him, he shall be convicted of Treason. But for the Safety of the Common

Common-wealth, and to reserve the Power and Dignity of the Legislature, and that no Man should think himself in Security when he contrives the same Mischiefs which are provided against by the Instances of Treason expressed in this Act, because his Offence is not particularly described, it goes on to say, *And because that many other like Cases of Treason may happen in time to come which a Man cannot think nor declare at this present time, it is accorded, that if any other Case, supposed Treason, which is not above specified, doth happen before any Justice, the Justices shall tarry, without any going to Judgment of the Offender, till the Cause be shewed and declared before the King and his Parliament, whether it ought to be judged Treason or other Felony.* That is, And because there may many Cases happen which cannot possibly occur to us while we are making this Law, which may be of so heinous a Nature as to appear within the Intent and Meaning of it, we will lay down a Method to come at them also; but we will not allow the Judges in so great Cases to go beyond the written Law at their Discretion, or to proceed to Judgment therein, but we direct that such Causes shall be brought before the Parliament, who only shall pronounce them Treason, or not Treason.

Thus in behalf of every particular Subject of this Realm, when it is doubtful whether a Man has offended against this Law or not, it is provided that the Judges shall not decide it; but, in behalf of the Community, it is provided that the Parliament shall.

In this plain manner are the Innocent protected, and the Guilty prosecuted by this Law.

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The generous Monarch who sat on the Throne when it was made, was apply'd to by his Subjects for the Benefit of a Certainty in the Case of Treason. The Tendency of the whole Act is to preserve the Subject from Violence from the Ministers and Officers of the Crown; and therefore the Preservation of the King and Common-wealth is not so distinctly explained in it, but a Reservation kept (in that behalf, and for all other Purposes) in the Legislature to act upon extraordinary Emergences as they shall think fit. The Words *probably attainted by People of their Condition*, place Criminals upon an Impeachment in the same State before the Lords, as Offenders stand in the ordinary Tryals before their Judges and Jury.

Care is taken in this Law, that if a Peer believes it more *probable* from the Circumstances in Evidence that the Person impeach'd is Innocent than Guilty, it is his Duty to acquit him; but if he thinks the Evidence makes more for his Guilt, he is obliged to condemn him. Treasonable Thoughts manifested by and exerted into an Action which expresses and discovers deliberate Malice or Design in the Heart, constitute the Crime of Treason by this Act.

To make a Man Guilty by this Act, it must appear that he had Treason in his Heart, and that he discovered the ill Disposition of his Heart by an outward Show of it, by an Action in consequence of that Treason in his Heart.

It could not possibly enter into the Imagination of the Lawgivers in King *Edward's* Days, that while they were restraining the Power of the Magistrate for the Security of every individual Subject, it would not be implied and understood that there was a Reservation in behalf of the Whole.

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However, the Act has provided, that all Crimes which are above the Descriptions of Guilt here laid down, as well as those which have affinity to them, tho' not so high, shall be brought before the Parliament. It is in our Age only, that the Prejudice of Mankind turns against Society in behalf of Malefactors. Men say, That tho' the Crimes are greater than those mentioned in the Act of Treason, they do not come under that Law. Most subtil Disputants! who infer, that a Man is not guilty of Fornication when he commits Adultery; that he is innocent of Manslaughter, because his Crime is Murder. Hard is the Fate of *Britain*, if her Laws, instead of being Fetters, Ropes, and Axes, to punish bad Men for the Preservation of good, are to be Fastnesses and Hiding-holes for the worst of Malefactors to creep into, and escape!

N^o. 3. *Monday, July 18.*

AS we have seen the very Persons who are now in the utmost Disgrace, lately in the Posts of highest Honour and Dignity in our Nation, Men may appear guilty of that basest Sort of Cruelty which is expressed by the Word *Insolence*, when they aggravate Distresses, and add Reproaches to the Weight of Affliction already too great to be supported, without more than ordinary Fortitude. Sorrow ought to be a Shield against the Resentment of generous Minds, who always abate their Enmity in proportion to the Disasters of those whom they have opposed in Prosperity. But

But we are at the same time to consider, that there is a wide Difference between Punishment and Misfortune; and Human Society cannot subsist, if the Malefactor and the unhappy Man are to stand equally Objects of Compassion, when they are reduced to the same Circumstances of Distress.

It will be necessary therefore to take from these Men all Pretensions to the Word Unfortunate. The Favour due to unhappy Men, is to be given to those only who become such in the Pursuit of honest Actions.

There is indeed something sacred in Calamity, but the Distress must be such as might have befallen any Man who lives in the Practice of social Virtues. When an ill Adventure happens to an honest and virtuous Man, the whole Species ought to be concerned; and are concerned at the Incident. Compassion, an Affection of the Mind which is very well expressed by our ordinary Word, *Fellow feeling*, cannot be bestowed but where we think the same thing may probably befall our selves.

By this Rule, wicked Men under Punishment, are not the proper Objects of Sorrow to the Innocent: Virtuous Men feel within themselves an Abhorrence of the Actions, which reduced Offenders to their Misery; and while they have that Abhorrence, their Hearts must be closed against admitting the Tenderneſs which is due from Man to Man in general; nay, that Tenderneſs kindles into Indignation against a Man's self, when he feels that vicious Pity coming upon him for those who were Strangers to Pity towards others.

There are not therefore *Two* named in the Report, to whom I can allow the Distinction of being Unfortunate. Nor shall they ever have from me
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the Reverence that encompass all those who are afflicted by the Hand of Heaven, who are thrown down from an high to a low Condition, by the Decree of Providence; who in heedless Prosperity, for no known Vice, have received Admonitions to be more human, and attentive to the distressed Condition of their Fellow-Creatures, or who in pursuance of generous Designs for the common Good have transgress'd ordinary Rules, and become liable to Severities, from a Disregard to themselves, and Zeal for the Publick. But when the Crafty are taken in Snares they laid for others, and the Intervention of Providence, no Repentance in themselves, has brought their Iniquities into view: I say, in this latter Case, as it is below a brave People to give them unmanly Insults, or deny them so much Favour as is due to the Infirmities of Body, which they have still in common with us; so it would be the most childish Softness to cast our Eyes upon their Dejection, without reflecting on the Ills which brought them to it.

I shall therefore, in the future Remarks which I shall make on the *Parricides*, instead of considering them as Men under Affliction, reflect upon the miserable Condition into which they plunged their Sovereign, their own Country, and all the Princes and Potentates of *Europe*, contending for Justice against a Tyrant. The Melancholy Objects of my Compassion shall be,

A Glorious Queen reduced to an Inability to do Justice to herself or her Allies.

A Queen sitting on a Throne, and in all the Signs of Royalty, abused and misinformed in the Facts of which she is speaking to her People.

A Queen

A Queen making Promises of Grace, Favour, Mercy, Faith and Justice, and at the same time surrounded by Ministers who at that very instant were dividing the Properties of her Confederates, giving up the Interests of her People——

When I am to apply my Compassion, I will direct it to

The Honour of an Illustrious Nobility, injured by the Accession of Men who made their way into their Assembly by their Iniquities.

By the Accession of such as enter'd into it under no other Characters than Lacqueys to the basest Man that ever entered before them.

When I am to bestow my Pity, it shall be to the Representative of a great and powerful People, betrayed by false Informations and Notices of Things to comply with a traiterous Ministry, in giving, to procure an infamous Peace, as much Treasure as would have finished a Glorious War.

But it is, methinks, selfish in the *Englishman*, to consider only the Calamities which more immediately touch his own Country. There has been a whole People, who have perished by the Perfidiousness of our late Ministry. The Blood of all the *Catalans* who died in the late War lies at their door, and the Survivors of it incessantly implore Heaven for Vengeance.

All our Compassion is due to those, who now suffer Chains and Imprisonment by the Treachery of our Countrymen; yet do we retain a Pity to those who have destroyed the whole People of *Catalonia*, and cast the Infamy of it on the whole People of *England*.

Let the Reader peruse the following Letter, as written from a perishing People to an inhuman mercenary

mercenary Officer, who had no Sense of their Distress, but how to merit from the Enemy, by being assistant in their Destruction: and bestow his Compassion where he pleases.

Letter from the Town of Barcelona to Sir James Wisheart, July 23. 1714.

“ YOUR Excellency very well knows, that
 “ the Engagement Catalonia enter'd into,
 “ to receive *Charles* the Third for their King, was
 “ founded on the Protection of the High Allies,
 “ but most particularly of *England*; without which
 “ we were not capable of coming into so great an
 “ Undertaking. It was carry'd on Seven Years,
 “ during which Time we have always seen most
 “ Valiant *English* Troops, that have distinguished
 “ themselves not only in the Sieges of Places, but
 “ also in their Defence; particularly in that of
 “ *Cardona*, which as it was the last Action, so it is
 “ fresher in our Memory. In all this Time, *Catala-*
 “ *lonia* endeavour'd to serve the *English* Nation to
 “ the utmost of their Power, by contributing
 “ Troops, and considerable Sums of Money with-
 “ out Interest. And tho' we had pleas'd our selves
 “ with the Thoughts of the Happiness to be al-
 “ ways Subjects of *Charles* the Third, seeing him
 “ so powerfully supported; yet by the ordinary
 “ Change to which human Affairs are liable, we
 “ now see the Troops of the Duke of *Anjou*, as-
 “ sist'd by the *French*, Masters of all the Principa-
 “ lity, except *Barcelona* and *Cardona*: Commit-
 “ ting through the whole, the most execrable
 “ Hostilities, Burnings and Plunderings, without
 “ sparing

sparing the Effusion of innocent Blood, and without Distinction of Age or Sex. The Enemy have for a Year oppress'd this Town by Sea and Land, and we continually suffer the Calamities of so long a Blockade; during which Time above Fourteen Thousand Bombs have been thrown into the Town, which have ruin'd the greatest Part of the Houses. They are now endeavouring to attack us in form, and we fear that in Twenty Four Hours the Town will be batter'd in Breach.

We cannot express to your Excellency with how much Grief we see the Danger the Inhabitants are expos'd to, of becoming the Victims of that Cruelty with which they are threatned by the Enemy; and having no other Comfort left, but to fly to the Queen of *Great Britain*, we implore her Protection by the inclosed Letter to Don *Pablo Ignacio Dalmases*, our Envoy at *London*. In the mean time, till an Answer can come, we beseech your Excellency from our Souls, to mediate with the *French* Troops, who oppress us, for a Suspension of Arms: Since at the Congress of *Baden*, where Endeavours are using to conclude a General Peace, this Affair may still be determined. We doubt not but your Excellency's Mediation will be powerful enough to procure us this Relief, your Excellency being Commander in the *Mediterranean*, and your Squadron being superior to that of the Enemy. We see no other Remedy but this, in Nature, to our Misfortunes; and therefore we hope your Excellency will not refuse us: In this our Relief consists. And if *Catalonia* has merited any thing by its Services, and by its Conjunction

“ with

" with the *English* Nation, this is now the Time
 " to receive the Fruits of it, being worthy, by the
 " Means of your Excellency, of this Benefit; for
 " which, all the Principality, and this Town,
 " will ever be oblig'd to the whole Nation, and
 " particularly to your Excellency: Desiring nothing
 " more than to compensate, by our Services, this
 " Favour, which we hope from your Excellency's
 " Goodness. It is worthy of your Excellency to
 " comfort the Afflicted, and not to deny us this
 " Favour in our great Necessity. And your Excel-
 " lency may be assured of our perpetual Gratitude;
 " desiring your Excellency to honour us with your
 " Orders, and that God grant you a long Life,
 " &c.

N^o. 4.

Friday, July 22.

THE natural Process of this Discourse is, this
 Day, diverted by late Occurrences, which lead
 me to say something upon the Circumstance, which
 closes the Charge I made against the *Parricides*; to
 wit, *That they promoted the Interests of the Preten-*
der. The Government, as has been declared from
 the Throne, has certain Intelligence, that he is
 preparing to Invade us; and many Particulars in
 the Report evince that he was, if the Plans of the
 late Ministry had succeeded, to have had, one Day,
 a very different Reception from that of an Enemy.
 The Passages I shall set down at the End of this
 Leaf, (as *Advertisements* are printed in the Half-
 Sheets

Sheets of News) lest the inserting them in the Body of the Paper may too much disturb the Attention of the Reader.

The Posture of our present Affairs cannot but raise the utmost Indignation of every Man who loves either his Country, his Religion, or his Liberty. The Affair of the *Pretender* was transacted by a Confidence in the Abbot *Gualtier*; and the Privy of the *French* Ministers to this Treason, seems to have involv'd the *Paricides* into that shameful Subordination to *France*, expressed in all their Transactions. The Men were not Fools; and it is impossible to account for so slavish a Complaisance to the *French* Councils, nay sometimes hinting to the *French* to heighten their own Demands, but with a View to the Introduction of the *Pretender*.

They *could not have him but from France, and France would not give him but under Disabilities to be any other than her Tool, her Viceroy*. This is the most rational Account we can give our selves why the *Paricides* should, in the Condition Great-Britain was in, when they came to the Administration, so entirely Sacrifice her Interests to that of any other Nation. A *Jacobite* may have the Prosperity of his Country at heart, under the Person whom he wishes for, as much as we have under our Rightful and Lawful King: So that it appears evident the Peace was accepted only as it led to the Chevalier, without which they could not have him. And we see *Jacobites* are so devoted to their Principle, that at the hazard of losing their All (much more at the hazard only of impairing their present Condition) they endeavour for the *Pretender*. For this one Circumstance the Whole was given up; and

as

as it was the End of their Designs, so it would have been a Sanctification of them, when accomplished.

The heady and desperate Steps which were made, in contempt of the Observation of all Mankind who looked on, and the Laws of which they had then the Execution, could be supported by no other Prospect than the Power of *France* ready to assist, and the Forces of *England*, under their own Direction, to join in the Execution of their Treachery.

Numberless are the Instances which must occur to every one, who took notice of Transactions in *England* for some Years last past, which support this Assertion; I shall name one, which I think is a Matter of great Import. A private Gentleman, with a generous and publick Spirit, took upon him the Prosecution, at the King's Bench; of such Authors as had written against the Succession of the House of *Hanover*, and the Ministers sheltered them from Suffering according to Law, by an impudent and shameless Interposition of the Authority of the Crown in their Favour.

This Fact is as much Proof of their Designs, as if they had raised Troops to assert his Pretensions; and the whole Complection of their Behaviour, the whole Bent of their Administration, tended either to the Pretender's Success, or to their own Ruin: I say they were Self-murderers, if they had not a Prospect of their own private Advantage, in giving up the Wealth and Glory of *England* during their Administration. *France* could have given them a Price for their Country, but *France* could not give them a Security in the Possession of such their Bounty, without a Revolution in *Great Britain*.

Our Circumstances at the latter End of the late Reign, were such as perhaps never happened in any other Nation of the World; and a very Crafty Man made use of the Posture of Affairs with more Skill, than till one has considered him very attentively, a Man would believe he was capable. The People were divided into two open Parties; he had not, of himself either the Power or Affection of either of them; but from the most ready Affability to all Men, and general Knowledge of their private Passions and Circumstances, he could come at Men of Interest on both sides, and manage them to his own Purposes. By this means the Interest of the Pretender was gradually advanced; and Men who had an utter Aversion to the Thought of him, began to see his Success so probable, that it was the more daring Part to express in Conversation a Warmth for the *Protestant* Succession.

But Providence removed the *Parricides* from all Power, by the Demise of their Sovereign, whom they had misled and betrayed into an Imaginary from a Real Greatness.

They have now no Hold but in the false Modesty of those whom they deceived to have once Espoused them, and are aham'd to give them up, and the Remains of the Impressions they themselves had given the giddy Multitude. With the First, their Safe and Honourable Peace is lost, with the other Adjective *Lasting*. With the latter, now they are no longer Ministers, from which Station the ordinary Race of Men could expect nothing but Justice and Protection, they will soon appear Conspirators, who brought upon them the present Danger of Warfare and Poverty.

But

But the Commons of *Great Britain* have, *Nemine Contradicente*, resolved to support their Sovereign against the Events, which flow from the Resignation of the Power and Glory of *England* to the Interest of *France* by the *Parricides*. A Common Danger gives True Britons a Common Will; and the Love of Liberty shall break through all the Artifices of Wicked Men, and save us from *France* and *Rome*.

I cannot think so ill of my Countrymen, as to imagine it is necessary to say pathetick Things on this Occasion.

It is evident from the monstrous Commission given in *England* to Monsieur Gaultier to inform the *French* of our Measures, and the *French* entrusting Mr. Prior to speak the Sense of *France*, that the *French* and *English* were unreservedly in a Secret too Criminal in the Ministers of *England* to avow. All other Circumstances alluded to in their Letters, they pretend to defend; but when the Chevalier is mentioned, there is immediately a Reference to Word of Mouth. For which Reason we cannot but conclude, the favouring of the Pretender was the Purpose referred to Verbal Conference by the *Parricides*, who are guilty of all the Blood ineffectually spilt in the War which is past, and all that must necessarily be spilt in that which seems approaching.

“ The first Time that any secret Negotiation is
 “ expressly referr’d to Abbot Gaultier, is found in
 “ a Letter, where Mr. St. John, March 4. 1711-12.
 “ tells Mr. Torcy, *He had deferr’d writing to him*
 “ *of late, till he might write with Certainty, till*
 “ *the necessary Dispositions were made among our*
 “ People

People at home, and till the Queen had taken the only Resolution which could bring us in a short time to a good and solid Peace. I have now the Satisfaction to tell you, that this Resolution is taken, and that Mr. Harley will carry with him this Night, or to Morrow Morning, the final Instructions of the Queen to her Plenipotentiaries. I refer my self to Mr. Gualtier, to explain to you more at large the Subject of this Gentleman's Commission, and what the Queen hopes his most Christian Majesty will do to cooperate with her.

" Mr. St. John, in his Letter to Mr. de Torcy, of the 24th of May, 1712. O. S. when he sent him over the Conditions upon which her Majesty would make those Important and Decisive Declarations to Parliament, concludes that Letter with saying, *He hopes, that, with the general Repose we shall see reviv'd in a few Weeks a good Understanding between two Nations, which may become to each other the most useful Friends, for the same Reasons they have been the most formidable Enemies.* The Queen commands me to tell you, that she hopes when you send an Answer to this Letter, we shall have an Account the Chevalier had begun his Journey.

" Mr. St. John, June the 7th, 1712, writes a private Letter, as he calls it himself, to Monsieur de Torcy, and concludes it with saying, *The Abbot Gualtier will write to you upon the Subject of the Chevalier.*

" On the 22^d of June, 1712, N. S. Mons^r. de Torcy writes two Letters to my Lord Bolingbroke. In the publick Letter nothing is said of the Pretender; the private Letter concludes with saying, *I have the honour to send you a Letter under the*

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King's

“ *King's Hand, for Her Britannick Majesty; and*
 “ *I refer you to what the Abbot Gualtier shall say*
 “ *to you, about the Departure of the Chevalier.*”

“ An Extract of a Memorial touching the Demoli-
 “ tion of the Sluices of *Dunkirk*, deliver'd by
 “ Monsieur de Torcy to Lord Bolingbroke at
 “ *Paris*, in August, 1712.

“ *It is not our Business now to examine whether*
 “ *the Queen of England, and the English Nation,*
 “ *were in the right to demand the Demolition of*
 “ *the Fortifications, and the filling up the Harbour*
 “ *of Dunkirk. That is a Thing resolv'd and agreed*
 “ *upon. It may perhaps come to pass in the Course*
 “ *of this Affair, for Reasons easily to be foreseen,*
 “ *That England shall repent having demanded the*
 “ *Demolition of a Place and the Destruction of an*
 “ *Harbour, which might be of great Use in Con-*
 “ *junctures which perhaps are not very remote.*”

“ Your Committee do not take upon them to
 “ explain what Conjecture *France* had in View,
 “ and which they thought not very remote, when
 “ *Dunkirk* might be of particular Service; but
 “ think it proper to conclude this part of the Re-
 “ port with observing, That the Pretender did im-
 “ mediately upon the Demise of the late Queen
 “ publish a Declaration, which the Duke of Lor-
 “ rain has acknowledg'd in his Letter of the 6th
 “ of *December*, 1714. that he receiv'd from the
 “ Pretender himself, wherein is this remarkable
 “ Passage, *Yet contrary to our Expectation upon*
 “ *the Death of the Princess Our Sister* (of whose
 “ good Intentions towards Us We could not for
 “ some Time past well doubt; and this was the
 “ Reason we then sat still, expecting the good E-
 “ fect

fects thereof, which were unfortunately prevented by Her Deplorable Death) We found that Our People, instead of taking this favourable Opportunity of retrieving the Honour and true Interest of their Country, by doing Us and Themselves Justice, had immediately Proclaim'd for their King a Foreign Prince, to Our Prejudice, contrary to the Fundamental and Incontestable Laws of Hereditary Right, which their pretended Acts of Settlement can never Abrogate.

N^o. 5. Monday, July 25.

THE most honourable the Earl of Oxford is a Gentleman of consummate Skill in the Management of the Vices and Infirmities of Mankind to his own Purposes; and it was doing him Injustice to say he had no great *Extent* of Genius, for in transacting this Great Affair, he has manifested a very uncommon Capacity. My Lord has too much Penetration to judge of Men from the Distinctions which Fortune has placed them in; and well knows, it is not Wealth, or Title, or Wit, or Knowledge, that will, either singly, or all together, preserve a Man from doing Things unworthy of himself, but that conscious Vertue is the only Barrier against the Assaults of a vicious Man in Power. It was never therefore a Discouragement to him, when he wanted a Tool, that a Man did not lye exposed to the Assaults of his Power and Favour, at the ordinary Accesses of a narrow Fortune, or

weak Understanding. Whoever wants more than he has, and cannot live at Ease without it, will be in the Hands of a Statesman, as obsequious a Drudge as he that is a Beggar; and whatever a Man's Faculties are, if his Passions and Desires are too hard for his Will, he will bear as ill Usage, and serve as base Purposes, as the most stupid of Fools. The most honourable Lord, as I was going to say, was too knowing in the Ways of Mankind to want a Servant on any Occasion, tho' that Man he wanted was a Person above him: For in the Prosecution of this Affair, it is visible he had Instruments of all Degrees, with this Particularity, that those of highest Quality were put to the meanest Work: For those to whom he allotted Great Stations did not do the Duty of them, but had so little Spirit as to suffer it to be done by others; and stand before all the reasonable Part of Mankind as Covers to secret Evils committed by other Men, which they, by their Posts, ought to have prevented.

The Plan which was laid for giving up all *Europe* into the Power of the *French* King, was to put one Man into the Appearance of Business, and another into the Execution of it. We shall take the liberty to say, that Mr. *Prior* carry'd on the Negotiation in *France*, while a Man of Greater Quality had the Character of it: That *Tom Harley* was the Great Manager at *Utrecht*, while we had a Noble Lord Spiritual and another Temporal, Ambassadors for the Treaty: That Mr. *Gillingham* did all Things of Consequence in *Spain*, while a Peer of *England* stalked about the *Spanish* Court, and privately joined in the infamous Cruelty towards the *Catalonians*.

It

It is here very hard to keep within Bounds ; but I will say no more, than that the Law which is commonly known by the Term *Scandalum Magnatum*, is, at this Hour, with relation to some Great Personages, a more severe Restraint upon the People of *England* than it is in the Power of Flesh and Blood to act under.

The whole World has been abused and cheated in the same manner that common Rogues and Sharpers make an Hand, as the Phrase is, of particular Men. Here was a Plot laid in *England* to destroy the present Settlement and Constitution : For the Management of it, some must be Men of Reputation, *Known Cheats can cheat no more*. To draw in the World, a Gentleman is found who is of Consequence enough to take part of the Game out of the honest Hands by whom it was before conducted.

The first of the *Parricides* made choice of him, as one from whose Manners no Man would expect any thing which was not agreeable, but from whose Spirit he knew any thing would be submitted to that was ignoble. This Gentleman, whom the Reader may find, perhaps, in the following Quotations of the *Report*, lent his Honour, his Parts, his Quality, the Credit of his Fortune, and the Dignity of his Family, to be the Tools of the Minister of State.

When the Contriver of our Ruin had the Weight of this Nobleman to use occasionally, there was nothing too high for him to attempt ; and while he could keep his Instrument out of Danger or Reproach, he needed have no Scruples about the Good and Evil of the Work in which he was to employ him.

But the Part of the Noble Lord's subordinate Labourers shall be set forth in every Man's distinct Case. What I am showing now is, that according to the *Report*, the Earl of *Oxford* and Earl *Mortimer* did all that was done in the first Concoction; and there is no Crime in the whole Treaty, of whatever Kind or Denomination, in which he does not appear to have had the principal Part. Every little Incident, and less considerable Point, as well as the general Movement, is owing to him; and his Correspondents, whose Names are mentioned in *Report*, did not flatter him in ascribing all the Success of what was done, to his interposing in Cases of Difficulty. You may observe this from the petty Design of giving up *Tournay*, to that of Surrendering the whole *Spanish* Monarchy.

The Method by which he acted in each particular Court, is seen in the Light wherein I just now put it; and that very Disposition is an Infringement of the Constitution. The Constitution has provided, that the proper Officers shall be responsible for all Acts of State, and publick Negotiation; but his Lordship contrived to escape the Notices which the Nature of our Government has taken care we should have of the Actions of Ministers, by avoiding the known Paths of Business. For, as I before observed, his private Agent did the Business, and the Queen's Minister ratify'd the Transaction.

But, as it is the Fate of the Crafty to be discover'd by some Incident or other which they could not be aware of, it happens that this Nobleman did not only do all these Things, but has under his own Hand acknowledged he did so. His Lordship's Letter to the Queen, speaking of himself has it thus:

It

“ It is not decent to take Notice, that, during
“ this whole Negotiation, the Treasurer was obliged,
“ by his own Hand, and his own Charge, to corre-
“ spond in all the Courts concerned in the Nego-
“ tiations; and very often he had the good Luck
“ to set right several Mistakes, and to obtain some
“ Things very little expected: But the only Me-
“ rit of this belongs to Her Majesty, the Credit
“ of whose Favour brought it about, and gave
“ Power to the Treasurer to act with Success.

This is in as direct Terms as possible taking the
Peace upon himself, and assuming to himself the
Glory or Shame of having made it. I shall conclude
what I have further to say in this Paper with a short
Observation upon the Surrender of the *Spanish*
Monarchy. The Injunction upon our Ministers
was to take Care that the Crowns of *France* and
Spain should not fall into the Possession of the
House of *Bourbon*. Our Ministry, after some Steps
which they were wrought upon or enured to take,
or in View of bringing in the Pretender by the
Power of that House, accepted the Renunciation as
a Security against the uniting the Two Kingdoms
in one Potentate. *Taking the Renunciation as a*
Security, was acting against Experience; for the
present King of Spain had not been now asked to
renounce France, if the Renunciation of Spain for
himself and Heirs could have bound his Grand-
father.

Besides this, the very Transaction implied there
was nothing in the Renunciation. The Treaty for
it was not carried on between *London* and *Madrid*,
but between *London* and *Versailles*. There were
no Questions asked of *Spain*; but *France* was
asked, whether they could answer for *Spain*; and

the Promise of *France* was taken for what should be done by *Spain*. If *France* was capable of answering for *Spain*, *Spain* was in the Power of *France*; and our Ministers acknowledged them under one and the same Potentate in the very Act of Treating against their being united. But it is Folly to talk in earnest upon this gross Cheat of taking the Renunciation of *France* for a Security: If all the Thieves in Town would take an Oath that they would Rob no more, what Man, in his Wits, would for that Reason go to sleep with his Doors unbolted?

“ And my Lord Treasurer, as in the great Affair of *Tournay*, was in this Transaction the chief Conductor, as may very reasonably be concluded by several Letters that Mr. *Prior* wrote about this time to my Lord Treasurer, altho’ Mr. *Prior* has not thought fit to produce one Letter from his Lordship to him.

“ It is to be observ’d, that these Letters to my Lord Treasurer, were chiefly wrote on the same Days that Mr. *Prior* sent Dispatches to the Secretaries of State, giving an Account of his Proceedings, and desiring the Queen’s Directions upon them; but it seems, he thought not that sufficient without knowing my Lord Treasurer’s particular Pleasure upon them.

“ Mr. *Prior*’s Dispatch to the Secretary’s Office, giving a full Account of the present State of the Treaty, together with several Papers, Memorials, and Propositions relating to the Points in Dispute, and concerning Commerce, and North America, is dated *December* the 28th, 1712. N. S. The Day after, *December* the 29th, N. S. Mr. *Prior* writes to my Lord Treasurer, and tells him,

“ him, I have wrote a Book instead of a Letter,
 “ to my Lord *Bolingbroke*, which I desire your
 “ Lordship would be pleas’d to run over, that
 “ knowing what I have done here, you may ho-
 “ nour me with your Commands as to what I am
 “ to do. He hopes his Proposal about *Newfound-*
 “ *land*, which he sends his Lordship enclos’d, is
 “ such as may terminate that Affair to our Advan-
 “ tage. If your Lordship is of the same Opinion,
 “ I shall have entire Satisfaction.

“ *January* the 8th, 1712-13. *N. S.* Mr. *Prior*
 “ having sent another full Account in form to the
 “ Secretary of State, writes the same Day to my
 “ Lord Treasurer, that he had been in Conference
 “ with the *French* Ministers to adjust the Points un-
 “ decided between her Majesty and the King of
 “ *France*; that he had sent Lord *Bolingbroke* the
 “ Result of those Conferences, as well what was
 “ agreed to by the *French* Ministers, as his own
 “ Remarks upon each particular Head; and says,
 “ I hope your Lordship will find the whole adjusted
 “ so far to your Satisfaction, as that our Plenipo-
 “ tentiaries may receive their final Orders. I will
 “ not doubt but the whole Affair of *Newfoundland*
 “ is adjusted to your desire; there were some
 “ Points insisted upon by our Plenipotentiaries
 “ which the Ministers here thought very unreason-
 “ able; and to say a Truth to my Lord Treasurer
 “ plainly, which I a little mitigate to my Lord
 “ *Bolingbroke*, I think not very reasonable. He
 “ then gives an Account that Monsieur *de Torcy*
 “ was surpriz’d, that the *Dutch* had but in part
 “ comply’d with what Lord *Strafford* declar’d to
 “ them to be Her Majesty’s Resolutions; to which
 “ he hopes the Queen will send such an Answer as
 C 5 may

“ may cut off all Delays ; and upon this Occasion
 “ Mr. Prior says to my Lord Treasurer ; *This*
 “ *I only write to your Lordship, it being a thing*
 “ *that should not be canvass’d in Council ; and*
 “ *have promis’d that the King should have Her Ma-*
 “ *esty’s Answer upon it, as he desires.*
 “ January the 19th, 1712-13. N. S. Mr. Prior
 “ writes again to my Lord Treasurer ; acquaints
 “ him, *That the Duke of Shrewsbury now sends to*
 “ *Lord Bolingbroke the Substance of their last Con-*
 “ *ferences with Monsieur de Torcy, upon the Sub-*
 “ *ject of Newfoundland ; to which I take leave to*
 “ *add ; That your Friend Torcy is in the last Con-*
 “ *cern to find the Duke’s Instructions so strict, in*
 “ *a Point which cannot be given up by France, at a*
 “ *Time when we well hop’d that Difference was ad-*
 “ *justed. Pray, my Lord, let us have your distinct*
 “ *and positive Orders hereupon by the first. I send*
 “ *your Lordship enclos’d a Copy of my Letter to my*
 “ *Lord Bolingbroke, and Duke of Shrewsbury de-*
 “ *sires, that we may have your Orders to finish.*
 “ *believe Torcy writes himself to you.* January
 “ the 23d, 1712-13. N. S. Mr. Prior writes once
 “ more to my Lord Treasurer, and tells him,
 “ *have already wrote so amply to your Lordship*
 “ *on the two great Points of Newfoundland, and*
 “ *the Tariff of 1664, and expect so daily your la-*
 “ *Orders upon those two Points, that I will not*
 “ *trouble you at present farther than to say, if*
 “ *these Two are settled, the Peace may be deter-*
 “ *mined here to Morrow, and sent the next Day to*
 “ *Utrecht to be sign’d. And on the 2d of Febr-*
 “ *ary, 1712-13. Mr. Prior says to my Lord Treas-*
 “ *urer : If I desire you to write to me, it is because*
 “ *I really think it for the Queen’s Service ; that in*
 “ *this*

this great Post where you have put me, I may be able to say, I have the immediate Commands of my Lord Treasurer; and in regard to that Friendship with which you have so publickly honour'd me, and which, by the By, does all the Business here. And on February the 4th, I shall direct my self as you shall be pleas'd to instruct me privately.

"The Committee find themselves at a Loss to account for the Reasons that prevail'd with the Ministry to admit the Insertion of this Article; and upon this Occasion they think themselves oblig'd to acquaint the House, that they find very few Footsteps remaining of the whole Transaction, relating to Commerce with Spain. It appears, that the Management of it was entrusted with Mr. Gillingham, an Irish Papist, who was sent thither for that Purpose; for which Reason Lord Lexington, in his Letters to Lord Dartmouth, frequently excuses himself for not writing upon that Subject, Mr. Gillingham giving such full Accounts of the Matter; notwithstanding which, no one Letter from Mr. Gillingham to the Secretaries Office can be found; and the Committee are induc'd to believe, that this whole Transaction was carry'd on by another way. From a Letter of Lord Lexington to Lord Dartmouth of January the 9th, 1712. wherein his Lordship, speaking of the Business of Commerce, says, Mr. Gillingham gives an Account of the Steps we have made, so I don't trouble you with them again; knowing that what goes to my Lord Treasurer, is the same as to your self.

Friday,

N^o. 6. Friday, July 29.

I Have asserted, That the late Ministers of Great Britain resigned *Spain* in the very Act of Treating with *France* for *Spain*, even before the specious Renunciation of it was made by the Enemy. To shew that this was the greatest Offence the Ministers could commit, give me leave to recite two or three Paragraphs of a Speech made by her Majesty from the Throne on the 27th of *October* 1705. Her Majesty gives her Sense and Opinion to her Parliament on the Subject of *Spain* in the following Words:

“ Nothing can be more evident, than that if
 “ the *French* King continues Master of the *Spanish*
 “ Monarchy, the Balance of Power in *Europe* is
 “ utterly destroyed; and he will be able in a short
 “ time to engross the Trade, and the Wealth of
 “ the World.

“ No good *Englishman* could at any time be
 “ content to sit still, and acquiesce in such a Pro-
 “ spect: And at this time we have great Grounds to
 “ hope, that, by the Blessing of God upon our
 “ Arms, and those of our Allies, a good Founda-
 “ tion is laid for restoring the Monarchy of *Spain*
 “ to the House of *Austria*; the Consequences of
 “ which will not only be safe and advantageous
 “ but glorious for *England*.

“ I may

“ I may add, We have learnt, by our own Experience, that no Peace with *France* will last longer than the first Opportunity of their dividing the Allies, and of attacking some of them with Advantage.

This will, I hope, be acknowledged sufficient Authority for all that has been said concerning the Absurdity of the Renunciation it self as a Security: For the same Person who is now, was then in Possession of the Monarchy of *Spain*. But her Majesty understood it in the *French King's* Hands, by the Expression, *If the French King continues Master*. I believe no one will say, that because King *Philip* has abjured being King of *France*, the King of *France* is not as much as he was before, and as when the Queen made this Speech, Master of *Spain*. It is certain, he is Master of Both to all Intents and Purposes of his own, but disclaims it when his Power in that Kingdom is applied to for what he has not a mind to grant.

When it was said from the Throne of *England*, That no Peace with *France* would last longer than till an Opportunity should offer of attacking some one of the Allies, after they should be divided; it was little thought *England* it self, which then sat Triumphant at the Head of the Alliance, should be that Nation to be so attacked, and that by her own Separation from her Friends. But such, in all appearance, is now our Fate; and we are to expect from *France* the Attack of a Pretender to His Majesty's Dominions, from the Loss of the Balance of Power in Europe, by the Iniquity of Englishmen.

This

This is a very melancholy Consideration; but what makes it more so, is, that there are so many intrepid Observers of all this, who are not at all alarmed at the Rumours of the *Pretender's* expected Arrival. The less these Men are afraid, the more should other People fear. Their Indolence can proceed from nothing but their Wishes for the Success of the Invader. When the *Pretender* attempted his last Descent, the Clamour was, that the Nation was too much unguarded; tho' at that Time we had an Army to call home for our Defence, and had an immediate Embarkation accordingly. We expect him now without any considerable Force to oppose him; and it's said, we are preparing Troops where there is no Danger.

The Truth seems to be, that when they who would keep him out at the Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes, and who know they must do it at the Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes, are at the Helm; I say, when such Men are to direct Affairs against him, some Gentlemen will always think we are too strong; and when others have the Power, they know it will do him no hurt, be we as strong as we will. The true Friend to his Country should Exult when such Men Fear, and Lament when they Rejoice. They are wonderfully anxious for the Liberties of their Country, under a Prince they do not love, and long to sacrifice them to one whom they do.

This is, in plain *English*, the State of the Case; and he that will not allow, with a certain Honest and Ingenuous Gentleman, who under Misinformations favoured the late Ministry, *That we and our Allies have been basely Betrayed*, must be in the Interests of the Pretender.

This

This his Cause has been long favoured and promoted, by dividing the *Protestant* Interest of the World both at Home and Abroad. All Charity and true Religion have been banished from the very Discourse of Mankind, to make way for Faction and Fury, under Pretence of Zeal for the Church.

But the true Point laboured by those who artfully spread such Insinuations to delude People by the Handle of their Virtue, and their Love to their Religion, is now too apparent to be any longer mistaken: The Intelligence between *France* and *England* has been certainly interrupted on the Side of *France*; and a War seems to have begun, as sometimes private Quarrels are, by a secret Stab from the Aggressor.

The present Want of Intelligence from our Minister at *Paris*, can be understood no otherwise than as an Injury of this Kind; and we are all, as one Man, obliged by the Laws of God, and of Nature, in regard to our Civil as well as Natural Rights, with the most warm and zealous Unanimity to avert any further Attempt, or be ready to avenge what shall be attempted.

The Legislature has given a Reward ample enough to transmit Wealth and Honour upon the Descendants from the Bold Hand that shall give Death to the Invader; and in case he shall dye in the Execution of so glorious an Enterprize, his Country are his Executors to his Family. The Commons of *England* have this Day assigned, and will take care to give, the Price of his Virtue to those whom Nature or his own Will shall have made his Heirs.

Tyranny

Tyranny and Superstition make War against Liberty and Religion; and it is to be hoped the Event will prove successful, according to the Strength of the Motives. If Slaves can dare beyond Freemen, only to bring more into the same Chains, without Prospect of shaking off their own, then is our Cause desperate: But if the Inheritance of Liberty and Property can animate the Possessors of them to secure what they have, and purchase to themselves greater Proportions of both for the future; then is our present Condition not only hopeful but inspiring.

Besides all these Motives, let any Man but recollect in how great a degree all social Virtue has been of late laid aside, in these Kingdoms, by the Iniquity of the *Parricides*, and he will think the Want of Publick Spirit in any single Man, too great a Detriment to be spared at this time. Whole Nations, Confederacies, Societies, and Communities have been destroyed, without a Sigh from the *British* Nation. The same evil Spirit made the *Palatines* find a Grave, where they sought an Asylum; the *Refugees* a Persecution, where they fled as to a Sanctuary. The Protestant and Christian World have been bent down to the Ground, by Antichristian Projects and Plans against *Schism*. Dissenters from us in little Points, which are in themselves indifferent, have been treated like the Enemies of God and Man, while those who, both in Civil and Religious Considerations, are our irreconcilable Enemies, have had Favour and Protection. Burnings of Mens Dwellings and Places of Worship, have been the Omens to the Slaughter of their Persons; and Men are sent into another World, for differing in Points
which

which are wholly abstracted from the Interests of this. Let every Man, whose Heart beats with any Generosity, Humanity, good Nature, or Courage, lay his Hand upon that Heart, and ask himself, Whether his Fellow-Subject's being tolerated in applying to Him who only knows the Sincerity of his Intentions in his own Way, can possibly be a Reason for spilling his Blood, or hurting him in the least Circumstance of his Fortune, Person, or Reputation.

If upon Reflection he allows the contrary, his Hand and Heart will join with those of his Brother, and with the Reconciliation of Generous Men, all *Englishmen* and *Protestants* will, with one Mind, surround the Sacred Person of our King, whom Providence has sent for our Deliverance, and in the joint Cause of Religion and Liberty, live Freemen and Conquerors, or dye Patriots and Martyrs.

N^o. 7. *Monday, August 1.*

THE intended Treachery being settled and laid in *England*, it began as a Cheat naturally does, with Methods to gain Confidence in the Persons who were to be betrayed. For this End, Mr. Secretary *St. John* transmits the first Propositions of *France*, signed by Mr. *Torcy* April the 22d, 1711. N. S. to Lord *Raby* on the 27th of April, O. S. and instructs his Lordship to assure the Pensionary, that the *Queen* was resolved in making
Peace,

Peace, as in making War, to act in perfect Concert with the States, and desires the Secret may be kept among as few as possible: He confesses, that the Terms of the several Propositions are very general; that there is an Air of Complaisance shewn to England, and the contrary to Holland, which might be of ill Consequence; but can be of none, as long as the Queen and States take care to understand each other, and to act with as little Reserve, as becomes Two Powers so nearly allied in Interest; and desires the Pensionary to be assur'd, that this Rule shall on our Part be inviolably observed.

This was a Frankness, which could not but meet with Credit. Here is a Partiality towards Us observed, and generously rejected. And this Behaviour had its natural Effect; for Lord Raby, by Letters of May the 25th and 26th, 1711. tells Mr. St. John, *That the Pensionary had, with those of that State who had been formerly employed in the Negotiations of Peace, considered Monsieur de Torcy's Propositions, and the obliging Manner in which her Majesty was pleased to communicate them; that they thanked her Majesty for her Confidence in them, and assure her that theirs is reciprocal.* But this general Compliment is not all, which their open and fair Dealing produced from our Honest and Frank Allies: *They declare themselves weary of the War, which they endeavour to conceal from the Enemy, lest he should make his Advantage by it. They do not only disburthen their Hearts of this Secret, but they agree in the Remarks made by the British Minister Mr. St. John, upon the Propositions, That they are dark and general, and designed to create Jealousies between her Majesty, that Republick, and the Allies; but they put themselves into the Queen's Hands*

Hands for their Security against this Danger: *They depend upon her Majesty's Justice and Prudence to prevent any such ill Effect, and hope she will make the French explain, more particularly, the several Points contained in them.*

When the *Parricides* had this Secret, that the *Dutch* wanted a Peace, and had prepared them against an Alarm from Intelligence they might elsewhere receive about secret Negotiations in *England*, by the most unreserved Conduct in themselves; the *Communication between England* concerning these Matters, is utterly laid aside for Five Months together; and the *Dutch* hear no more from Us, till the *Seven general Preliminaries* were concluded, and sent to them. The Reader may please to remember, that my first Paper made the Rule of Conduct with the *Parricides* to be to *undermine Wisdom with Cunning, and overbear Honesty with Impudence.* I cannot but think this a very lucky Description of their manner of Acting, if there were not a ridiculous Sound in the Syllables *under* and *over*, in the only Words I could think of to express their manner of destroying Truth and Justice, its greatest and most powerful Adversaries Craft and Violence.

Who could imagine it were possible, that after the *Dutch* had so sincerely owned themselves weary of the War, there could be Men, to whom they had communicated that Secret, who could have the Front to complain of them as impracticable to *Measures* of Peace? They knew the Falshood and Baseness of their own Hearts; but were hardened into a Neglect of all Honourable Reflections, and therefore could, without the least Compunction, go on not only to betray and abuse them, but

bnt throw off all Disguise in doing it; and where there was no Colour left for Disguise, bear it out with open shameless Impudence. They demanded in the following Course of the Negotiation, if it may be called a Negotiation wherein *Barricides* are giving up their own Country, and *insist upon nothing but giving up more than they were intrusted with, the Right of other Nations*. There were *Englishmen* found who could, with the greatest Gravity and Assurance, meet the injured deserted Allies of their Country; and have no other Business upon Earth at the Treaties between them and the Enemy, but to shelter the Enemy in all Cases of Difficulty, and call every Imposition *France* should advance against our Friends in general Terms, *The Measures of their Queen*.

The Plenipotentiaries of *Great Britain* were only Factors under those of *France*, to modify and render practicable the Injuries of the Enemy against the Allies of their Sovereign, in the Name and Authority of that Sovereign. If we consider the *Paricides* at Home and Abroad, we shall find them in both Places disabling the Friends of their Country, and enabling those of the Enemy. How Haughty are they to *Holland*! How Servile to *France*! The Ministers of the Conquering *English* talk thus. Mr. *St John*, in his Letter to *Torcy*, beseeching him to impart the *French King's* Intentions concerning the Allies, says, *I assure you, that if the King would offer a Plan of Specifick Preliminaries, the Queen will never communicate it to any of the Allies*. The Report, with great Truth, makes this Observation, *This shews with what Justice the Ministry complained, that the Allies would not enter into the Queen's Measures, when they never were informed*

informed what the Queen's Measures were. But it was enough with them to know they could do Injuries with Impunity; they had nothing in their own Breasts to give them the least Pain in being such vile Instruments, *as to demand nothing and say they were refused;* to ask without explaining what they wanted, and then declare themselves disengaged of all Obligations, as Men *repulsed and ill treated.*

All the Artifices which have been practised upon the World, before the *Parricides* set up, were carried on with a constant Care to keep up, or, as the Phrase is, to guard Appearances; but these were the first manifest Cheats that ever appeared in High Places.

Some Colour has always been made whenever Statesmen have acted an extraordinary Part, and there was always an Appearance or outward Show of Advantage. But these Gentlemen had got over all Considerations of this kind, and are the first who thought it unnecessary to carry, at least, the Face of Reason and Justice. If Wise Men were unable to hurt them, they had not the Grace to be any ways concerned for what they thought of them; and it is remarkable, that there was not one Man employed in the whole Administration of the *Parricides*, that was not, in his general and received Character, a Person defective, either in his Understanding or his Honesty. The Head of them no Man thought well of when he began his Administration; and all subordinate to him were either profligate in their Lives, absurd in their Understandings, or knavish in their Practice: I except two Gentlemen who were in *France*, *The one eminent for good Sense, and the other for Wit.* These indeed

indeed came into the Service with great Eminence, among the Gentlemen, of having *Doubtful Characters*. But the rest were at first known to be, what these and they are all manifested to be at present. In this general Charge I include none but such as are under Imputations in the *Report*. For there are a few who had to do in the Affairs of the *Parricides*, whom I heartily bewail, and wish they had Spirit enough to own what their own Hearts say to themselves, and their Countenances speak to all the World, that they were deceived and ensnared by the *Parricides*. They have lent their Credit to them too long; it is in their Power to save their own Reputation by withdrawing their Patronage from them, but they can do them no good by losing their own Honour in their farther Service. The Pestilence is broke out upon the *Parricides*; it is impossible for their Friends to cure them, but they are sure to dye with them, if they abide any longer with them. I speak this with relation to Men's Honours, which, they say, is dearer than their Lives. It is the greatest Folly as well as Injustice to protect such manifest Criminals; and I defy the Wit of Man to find a Reason for the least Benevolence to any of them, or to form any Argument in their Favour, but as far forth as a precipitant Prosecution of them might from that Example involve innocent Men. I say, the late Ministers cannot for their own Sakes claim the least Regard; and nothing can be said for them, but what makes in general for the Good of human Society; and nothing can make so much for the Good of human Society, as that the Persons of the *Parricides* be taken from the Face of the Earth, and their Actions transmitted to eternal Infamy.

Friday

N^o 8. *Friday, August 5.*

BY the Preamble of the 5th Statute of the 25th of *Edward* the Third it appears, that Lawyers had differed very much in their Opinions of Treason. That the Statute mentions some particular Cases which shall absolutely be judged Treason, and leaves all others that may happen to the Decision of Parliament. It is plain it was the Sense of these Legislators, that there might be Variety of Treasons, which could not be specified in Law, and that it was the peculiar Province of Lords and Commons to punish and determine such Offences. There is good Reason in this, otherwise our Constitution were precarious; for more Detriment might come to a Nation from one Act of Treachery, which Law doth not expressly say is Treason, than from twenty which are directly called so. Whoever by breaking through solemn Engagements, makes a Nation suspected to its Friends and Allies, does it infinitely more Prejudice, than he that puts off a little counterfeit Money. There is one Case mentioned in this Act, by way of Exception, which the Justices shall not be allowed to construe Treason; so that it seems the Statute is rather intended for the Direction of Judges in some Particulars, than for the Ascertaining of Treason in General, which is still left at large, as a thing that comes more properly under the Cognisance of Parliament, than that of Law in the lower Courts.

This

This Case, says the Statute, must be judged according to the Customs of Old Time used; so that Treason does not depend upon the Customs of Old Time used, that is, the ordinary Course of Law, but must be determined by the Fountain of Law itself, the Legislative Authority. Among the Particulars which are expressly declared Treason, *Adhering to the King's Enemies, and giving them Aid and Comfort either in or out of the Realm*, is said to be so. These Terms are very general, and plainly comprehend every thing which can be done to the Prejudice of one's Country, or the Advantage of its Enemies. Whoever intentionally and knowingly does Service to the Enemies of his Country, adheres to, and Aids and Comforts them; And how can a Man adhere to, give Aid and Comfort, and do them Service more effectually, than by pointing out to them, in the way of Advice, those Measures which must be the most conducive to their Good? I shall on this Occasion give the Reader an Example out of our Law-Books, of the great Regard *England* has, in former Time, had to their Commerce with other Nations, and Maintenance of their Faith and Credit abroad. In the Time of *Richard* the Second, *John Imperiale* was sent into *England* with Letters of safe Conduct, as an Agent from the State of *Genoa*: From an Accident of a Citizen's treading on his Foot, a Quarrel came on between him and the said Citizen, and the *Genoese* was killed. The Case not coming within the Instances in the Statute, the Judges applied to Parliament; and the Parliament, in Consideration that the least Breach, or appearance of Breach of Publick Faith might endanger the Traffick of the Nation, pronounced this Offence

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Offence Treason. I shall, after this Circumstance, leave the Reader to his own Reflections upon the following Abridgment of Articles against a noble Earl.

I.

“ **T**HAT the Earl of *Oxford*, having contri-
“ ved the setting on foot a separate Treaty
“ of Peace between *Great Britain* and *France*,
“ without the Knowledge of the Allies, advised Her
“ late Majesty to send Mr. *Prior* into *France* with
“ Propositions of Peace; one Article of which
“ was, That the Negotiation should be kept secret,
“ tho’ the *French* King by Mr. *de Torcy* had offered
“ to treat with the Ministers of *England* and *Hol-*
“ *land* alone, or jointly with the rest of the Allies,
“ at the Choice of *England*. This Conduct gave
“ *France* an Opportunity of creating incurable Jeal-
“ ousies between her Majesty, and her Allies.

II.

“ That the said Earl, without Authority, con-
“ ferred with Mr. *Mesnager*, and advised and pro-
“ moted the making a separate Agreement between
“ *Great Britain* and *France*; in which even the
“ Interests of *Great Britain* are given up, and the
“ Duke of *Anjou* admitted to be King of *Spain*.
“ This Agreement was signed by *Mesnager* on the
“ Part of *France*, and by the Earl of *Dartmouth*
“ and Mr. *St. John* on the Part of *England*, by
“ virtue only of the Queen’s Sign Manual under
“ the Signet, and without the least Knowledge of
“ the Allies.

D

III. “ That

III.

“ That the said Earl contrived the forming a Set
 “ of General Preliminaries, entituled, *Preliminary*
 “ *Articles on the Part of France to come to a Gene-*
 “ *ral Peace*, to be signed by the *Sieur Mesnager*
 “ only; and advised her Majesty to accept the said
 “ Preliminaries, and communicate them to the
 “ Ministers of the Allies then residing in *England*,
 “ and afterwards to the *States-General*, as the
 “ Ground of a General Negotiation of Peace; as
 “ if the same were the only Transactions that had
 “ been on this Subject between *Great Britain* and
 “ *France*. And that he farther advised, the Sign-
 “ ing and Delivering to the Earl of *Strafford* cer-
 “ tain Instructions, which contained Matters false
 “ and prevaricating; and were calculated only to
 “ hide from the *States-General* the pernicious
 “ Measures which were then under Transaction in
 “ *England*.

IV.

“ That the said Earl, by his evil Influence, ren-
 “ dred the Representations of the *Dutch Minister*
 “ *Mr. Buys* ineffectual; and either falsely declared,
 “ or was privy to advising and consenting, that it
 “ should be declared, as it was, in her Majesty's
 “ Name, That she had made no separate Treaty
 “ with *France*, nor ever would make any without
 “ answering all Engagements to her Allies.

V. “ That

V.

“ That by the Advice of the said Earl, the
 “ Queen’s Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* were in-
 “ structed to insist on the Restitution of *Spain* and
 “ the *West-Indies*; tho’ it was before agreed in the
 “ private Treaty between *England* and *France*, that
 “ they should continue in a Branch of the House
 “ of *Bourbon*.

VI.

“ That the said Earl, during the Time the Ne-
 “ gociations at *Utrecht* were delayed and kept in
 “ Suspence, continued a separate and unjustifiable
 “ Negotiation with *France*, directly from *England*
 “ to *France*; and concerted with the Ministers of
 “ the Enemy, Terms of Peace highly prejudicial
 “ to the Interests of her Majesty and her Allies.

VII.

“ That the said Earl treacherously advised her
 “ Majesty to accept a Renunciation, which had
 “ been declared void even by the Minister of *France*.

VIII.

“ That notwithstanding the Queen had recom-
 “ mended to her Parliament to make Provision for
 “ an early Campaign, and that vast Supplies were
 “ granted for that Purpose; and that the *States-
 “ General* had been frequently assured, in her
 “ Majesty’s Name, that her Intentions were to

“ carry on the War with Vigor, in concert with
 “ them; and that the Confederate Army, the finest
 “ and strongest that had been seen during the
 “ War, was marched, in Agreement with her Ma-
 “ jesty's General, almost to the very Front of the
 “ Enemy: Notwithstanding all this, the said Earl
 “ was privy to Consenting and Advising, that an
 “ Order should be sent, in the Queen's Name, to
 “ the Duke of *Ormond* in *Flanders*, to avoid en-
 “ gaging in either Siege or Battel, till farther Or-
 “ ders; tho' nothing was then settled for the Inte-
 “ rest of *Great Britain*; and tho' the King of *Spain*
 “ had not yet consented to the Renunciation of
 “ his Right to the Crown of *France*. The said
 “ Earl did likewise advise, that Orders should be
 “ sent to the Bishop of *Bristol*, to take the first
 “ Opportunity to declare to the *Dutch* Ministers,
 “ That her Majesty looked on herself to be under
 “ no farther Obligation to them: And after the
 “ *States* had by Letter besought the Queen in the
 “ most moving manner to desist from her Declara-
 “ tion, and revoke the Orders given to the Duke
 “ of *Ormond*, he wickedly advised her Majesty to
 “ disregard and reject their Request; by which
 “ perfidious Counsels, the best Opportunity that
 “ ever offered for the Common Cause was lost, the
 “ Confidence between her Majesty and her Allies
 “ entirely destroyed, and the Affairs of *Europe*
 “ given into the Hands of the *French* King.

IX.

“ That the said Earl concerted with the *French*
 “ Ministers Measures for the withdrawing the
 “ Troops in her Majesty's Pay from the Confede-
 “ rate

“ rate Army; and afterwards took upon him to
 “ stop the Pay of those Foreigners who refused to
 “ follow the Duke of *Ormond*, and leave the Con-
 “ federates to the Mercy of *France*.

X.

“ That the said Earl entred into a Treaty with
 “ the *French* Ministers for a Suspension of Arms
 “ by Sea and Land between *Great Britain* and
 “ *France*, and for that purpose advised her Majesty
 “ to send Lord *Bolingbroke* to the *French* Court,
 “ with Powers to conclude the said Suspension:
 “ All which was transacted not only without the
 “ Knowledge of the Allies, but before any Terms
 “ of Peace were settled with the Enemy, either
 “ for *Great Britain* or the Confederates.

XI.

“ That the said Earl, while the War continued
 “ between *France* and *England*, did, contrary to
 “ his Allegiance, traiterously advise the *French*
 “ how to gain *Tournay*; tho’ *Tournay* was then in
 “ Possession of the *States-General*; tho’ the King
 “ of *France* himself had consented it should re-
 “ main as Part of their Barrier, and tho’ the
 “ Queen’s Plenipotentiaries were instructed to de-
 “ mand it for them.

XII.

“ That the said Earl, during the Time the Na-
 “ tion carried on an open War against the Duke of
 “ *Anjou*, in order to dispossess him of the *Spanish*

“ Monarchy, did, contrary to his Allegiance, con-
 “ cert with her Majesty's Enemies Measures for
 “ yielding up *Spain* and the *West-Indies* to the said
 “ Duke of *Anjou*.

XIII.

“ That the said Earl, contrary to the express
 “ Provision of an Act of Parliament, to the fre-
 “ quent Representations both of the Merchants
 “ and the Commissioners for Trade, contrary to
 “ her Majesty's Assurances from the Throne, That
 “ she would procure for her Subjects such Advan-
 “ tages in Commerce, as should compensate the
 “ Expences they had born in the War; contrary
 “ even to the Principle laid down in the separate
 “ Negotiations, That *France* should consent to
 “ adjust the Interests of *Great Britain*, in the first
 “ place; the said Earl did advise her Majesty to
 “ consent, That the *French* should have Liberty of
 “ Fishing, and of drying Fish on *Newfoundland*,
 “ and to make a Cession to *France* of the Isle of
 “ *Cape Breton*, with Liberty to fortify the same;
 “ though *Cape Breton* was Part of the Ancient
 “ Territories of the Crown of *Great Britain*, and
 “ though her Majesty had declared from the Throne,
 “ That *France* had consented to make an absolute
 “ Cession of *Nova Scotia*, or *Acadia*, whereof
 “ *Cape Breton* is Part. He also advised her Ma-
 “ jesty to consent, that this should be made an Ar-
 “ ticle in the Treaty of Peace, though the Advan-
 “ tages pretended to be stipulated for *Great Bri-*
 “ *tain*, were only inserted in the Treaty of Com-
 “ merce, and consequently depended on Condi-
 “ tions to be made good by Act of Parliament; and
 “ advi-

“ advised her Majesty to ratify this Article in the
“ said Treaty of Peace.

XIV.

“ That the said Earl advised her Majesty to de-
“ mand of the *French King* the Kingdom of *Sicily*
“ for the Duke of *Savoy*, even without any Appli-
“ cation from that Prince; and prevailed on her to
“ assist him against the Emperor, with a Fleet at
“ her own Expence, in taking Possession of the said
“ Kingdom; so that the Faith of Nations, and
“ the Honour of the Crown was not only sacrificed,
“ but the Naval Power of *Great Britain*, and the
“ Supplies granted by Parliament for reducing the
“ Common Enemy, were perfidiously employed
“ against the Great and Faithful Ally of this King-
“ dom.

XV.

“ That the said Earl made Use of his Credit
“ with the Queen to deceive the Parliament; and
“ prevailed on her, on many Occasions, to declare
“ from the Throne Things which were notoriously
“ False, in order to remove the just Suspicions
“ which had been conceived of his separate Nego-
“ ciations with *France*, to prevent the Faithful
“ Advice of Parliament to her Majesty, and to ob-
“ tain a Sanction to his own Traiterous Practices.

XVI.

“ That the said Earl, intending to subvert the
“ Established Constitution of Parliament, and to
“ destroy, at one fatal Blow, the Freedom and In-

“ dependency of the House of Lords, advised her
 “ Majesty to create Twelve new Peers; by which
 “ that valuable Prerogative was perverted, to the
 “ Dishonour of the Crown, and the great Danger
 “ of the Constitution.

N^o. 9. *Monday, August 8.*

A Work calculated for no less a Purpose than a Revolution in a Kingdom, and changing the Posture of Affairs throughout the whole World, could not be carry'd on, but by Instruments of all Kinds; and the most active in the Eye of the Publick, was *Henry Viscount Bolingbroke*. This Gentleman is now well known to have withdrawn himself from the Justice of the Nation; and while his Country is employed in prosecuting his Crimes in *England*, he is adding to the Number of them in *France*. They who know him well, will tell you, that he is in himself a Person of as great Consequence as a Man can be, who has neither Wisdom nor Virtue. It will look odd, that he should pass through the World so well without either of those Perfections, or so much as a Disposition towards them; but in the room of them he has Wit and Eloquence, a Graceful Person, Good Nature, and Good Breeding. His Conceptions are very superficial; but he expresses those Conceptions with much Grace and Address. Tho' he has not Judgment to chuse the right part, he can either Speak, Write, or Debate upon what he does pursue, or take into his Thoughts,

Thoughts, with a most specious Force, and Energy. Thus, tho' it was the most painful Thing imaginable to a wise Man to hear him Harangue, there was little Help against him, for he charmed all who had not deep Discerning; and was so ready upon Interruption, to take a new Provocation to go out of the Way again, and amuse the Generality of his Hearers, that he made a very great Figure in Assemblies, from a Practice for which a Man ought to be expelled Society, advancing what it was visible he himself did not mean. As then he was neither Wise or Virtuous, he easily ran into the most open Breach of all Order and Decency in his Carriage, in undertaking the most extravagant Designs; and from a Confidence in his own Parts, and the Power he was in, having no Terror of being publicly Baffled and Unsupported, he did not much trouble himself about the silent Judgment of wise and good Men, in whose Approbation only consist what is really Reputation or Fame.

Such seems to be his Character as a Man of Business, which was helped forward by his natural Passions and Appetites as a private Man. In the latter Consideration he was as abandoned to Pleasures as any we read of in the Descriptions of the most Voluptuous of the Heathen World. And tho' Men addicted to Pleasure are seldom thought Cruel, yet are they, from the Attention to that only, deaf to all Calls of Humanity, and follow that one thing Pleasure at the Expence of every thing which is Praise-worthy. The Person of whom we are speaking, had, by Nature, too gentle a Disposition to think of doing what we have seen him commit towards the Destruction of half of Mankind, if the Admonitions of his own Heart were not suppressed

by a constant Pursuit of secret Wantons, or profess'd Prostitutes. This was the fine Gentleman, and Man of Business, of the *English* Court, even in the Reign of a Lady of the strictest Severity in her own Life and Actions: And this profligate Young Man had so little Deference to his Sovereign, as frequently to come from a Brothel into Her Royal Presence, and return from it to the same Company, making it Matter of Entertainment to profess his alternate Capacity for Good and Evil.

With such Parts and such Morals as I have endeavoured to describe, Mr. St. John became Secretary of State of *Great-Britain*: And as it happens with Men who have not great publick Spirits, or strong Impulses to noble and generous Enterprizes, he was hurried away with the Enchantments of Power, and very soon placed Greatness in a Capacity of accomplishing vast Designs, without regard to Innocence.

In a very short space of Time after his coming into this Great and Important Station, it is demonstrable he went into downright Measures for exalting the *French* Power, and that with so unreserved a Conduct as to leave to himself no possible Safety but in the Introduction of the Pretender. I must repeat it, that he acted during the whole Negotiation of Peace, as having his View from *France*, and not as a Minister of *Great-Britain*. He has no Difficulty upon him from any Imperfection in his Vouchers with relation to his Country; you find him accept of *Mesnager's* Preliminaries, and Sign them by Virtue of a Warrant from the Queen, and not countersigned by any Body, or expressing the Advice of any of the Privy Council. At one time you observe him communicating to the

French

French Minister, the Propositions which the Earl of *Strafford* was to make to the *States*, or letting him into the Secret of Mr. *Harley*'s Commission; at another Time servilely begging to know what Terms the *French* intend to grant the Allies: The *Dutch* insisting, that the Plenipotentiaries of *France* should give in their Answer in Writing; he calls this the last Pang of an expiring Faction: To see him arguing for a Renunciation declared void by *Torcy* himself; to see him sending Orders to the Duke of *Ormond* not to Fight, and the very same Day giving Notice of those Orders to the Enemy, and then confessing he believed in his Conscience they saved the *French* Army, is too provoking not to raise Indignation: That the Earl of *Strafford* carried such Instructions, as would enable the Queen's Ministers to join openly with those of *France*, and give Law to the Confederates, is Matter of Triumph to him; this he tells *Torcy* with Pleasure: And when the Interests of our Trade were shamefully to be given up, he is very well contented, provided those Concessions may be made a Means of distressing the *Dutch*. When with Exultation he tells the *French* Minister, the Queen will act no longer against *France*, and that this will frighten the *Dutch* into Compliance; when he is endeavouring to insinuate into the Duke of *Ormond* Jealousies of Prince *Eugene*; when he absolutely promises *France* a separate Peace; when he informs Mr. *Torcy*, that he had sent positive Orders to the Queen's Admiral not to intercept the *French* *Levant* Fleet, and this before Signing the general Suspension; when he frankly owns, that the Question between the *French* and Us was not whether *Tournay* should be restored to the King, but that the

Difficulty

Difficulty lay in the Management of it; here appears such a complicated Scene of Treachery and Baseness, as was never before opened to the World. How can any *Englishman* hear him expressing the most insolent Contempt for His present Majesty, and not detest the Traitor, who durst say, *That the Queen did not enter much into the Notion of the Degradation of Hanover, as a Thing of any Importance*, but that it was very necessary that the Interest of the Princess *Ursini* should be taken care of? How can any *Englishman*, I say, hear him insulting our faithful Allies, and representing their Fears as affected Alarms and Clamour, and not look with Horror on the Man, who durst not only do this, but had the Confidence to declare, it was not for the Interest of *England* to preserve the Privileges of the glorious *Catalans*?

If the Reader will please to trace the Names of *St. John* and *Bolingbroke* thro' the Pages of the *Report*, and its Index, he will be convinced, that there is nothing here said without Foundation; and that the Breach of Treaties, the Slavery of his Country, and Destruction of all Things which are valuable amongst Men, were not only design'd by this Lord with propense Malice and Treachery, but also executed with Wantonness and Pleasure.

Friday,

No. 10. *Friday, August 12.*

IN this Account of the late Ministers, which I have undertaken to give from the Foundation of the Report, I cannot without much Pain to my self, mention the only Man who can be looked upon as Unfortunate, namely *James Duke of Ormond*. This Nobleman is the only Person concerned in the Report who can possibly move Pity in those who read his Story; and tho' the Facts against him are very strong, yet such is the Indulgence towards him, that Men are more inclined to Pity than Condemn him, for having done them. It could not have happened to any other Man, that the bare allowing the *French* to escape should have been forgiven in him by the *English* Nation, much less having favoured them, as did this unhappy Duke. But as Illustrious Worthies are called the Fathers of their Country, there have been, methinks, in all Ages, some Offenders who have been considered as the Children of their Country. The Nation has looked upon this unhappy Nobleman in this kind and fond Light; and tho' many have thought fit to call this Lenity (for indeed it is that only) Popularity, it will appear, upon Reflection, no other than the Favour which is always given to Good-natur'd Men: And the Duke of *Ormond* is not only a Popular Man, but universally known to be a Good-natur'd One. His private Disposition was made conspicuous from his high Stations, by which

his

his Character has been spread farther, but not raised higher.

It may, in some Measure, abate the Shame and Sorrow of *Great-Britain*, to allow, that one Man concerned in the late Transactions, was seduced by others into what he did, and not, in Nature, a self-interested Pursuer of his own Profit, at the Hazard and Ruin of other Men. As soon as this Noble Lord was impeached by the Commons, his Case became the only Subject of Conversation; and, in spite of all the Circumstances set forth by himself in the Papers called *His Conduct*, he had many Advocates, even among the faithful Servants of their King and Country.

If it were possible for any Person to be led into ill Actions, without an ill Mind, they were ready to think it of the Duke of *Ormond*. The common Topicks of Discourse were, how far a Soldier is oblig'd to look into the Motives and Spirit of his Orders, or to obey them implicitly: Whether the Instructions given under a Sign Manual, could be countermanded by the Directions of a Secretary of State: Whether to correspond with a Secretary, did not imply to follow Instructions which should be transmitted by him; and whether it would not be below the Dignity of Candid Accusers to dispute the Sufficiency of his Orders, since with an honest Mind he thought them Sufficient; and if he thought them Sufficient, he could not have an ill Will in himself in obeying their Purport. The Debate every where was, whether allowing his Orders to be Authentick and full, he has, or has not obey'd them; acted more or less than they enjoin'd; or whether he ought to have obey'd them at all. Some would say with Warmth, that he could not have
disputed

disputed his Orders, and distinguish his Circumstances from that of others concern'd in this great Affair. They were Privy-Counsellors, and responsible as such, for the Orders which were given out ; for they are, according to the Constitution, Authors of the Determinations of State, and could not act without incurring the greatest Guilt, for they were to answer, that what was Commanded, was fit to be Obeyed. This was carryed so far, as to mention Letters of different Tenor in the same Day to the same Person, the one declining, the other promising Action, to be used occasionally at Home : Even this Fact was spoken of with Patience, and extenuated from the known unreserved Deference to the Prerogative, in which it was well known that Lord was educated.

They contended, that it would be hard to find a Man Guilty of Treason, who, perhaps, was not obliged to dive into the Motives of his Orders, but believed what he did was for the Good of his Queen and his Country. If he was so weak as to believe it, still he believed it, and the first Part of Treason, the evil Mind, is thereby not to be found. He had not, in the main-Particulars (the Advices given to the Enemy, and taking the Towns of the Allies) the Orders of the Queen, or her Secretary ; but the last Instructions he had, intimated the Queen's General Disposition of Friendship towards *France* ; and following that Disposition he believed his most defensible Carriage during the want of Orders.

To all these specious Arguments in this Noble Lord's Favour, they looked back into his first Entrance into the Service. He came into it at
the

the Revolution ; he came into it a Duke and a Knight of the Garter : He came into it when it was most useful to his Country, and possessed of as high a Title, and as great Honour, as it was in the Power of his Prince to bestow. His Fortune, he afterwards proved, was no Part of his Consideration ; and tho' it may be justly said he lavished his Fortune, it may as justly be said he might have lavished it, without doing it in Places of Danger ; and he might have found other Objects for his Profuseness, than those wounded in the same Battel, than those lying Prisoners in the same Garison.

This Indulgence, this Lenity, this Pity, this Partiality, was allowed this Noble Lord from the highest to the lowest Man in *England*, to ward off the great Calamity which has since befallen him ; but all the Arguments which the Good-nature or Wit of his Well-wishers could, or can form for him, are answer'd by his Grace's Flight into *France* ; his Flight to the Conversation of that Secretary who betrayed his Honour, and whose Accomplice he cannot but appear by this Action. He is not now tyed down by the Orders of my Lord *Bolingbroke*, but moved by the same Purposes and Inclinations. The Officers and Followers of the Pretender are now his Associates ; and this unhappy Gentleman has fled from the Mercy of his Prince, and the good Wishes of his Friends, to be a Refugee in Age, for a Cause against which he was a Patriot in Youth.

To all these specious Arguments in this Lord's Favour, they looked back into his former Service. He came into it as

As

As the whole Group of Figures mentioned in the Report, are Objects of immortal Hatred and Detestation, let one Man in it be spoken of only with Lamentation; and let the Head of a Loyal and Illustrious Family be enough punished for whatever he has committed by the Fatality of having chosen, instead of the Remains of a Princely Fortune, a Dependence on an insolent and ingrateful Court for Bread; and instead of the Possession of Ease, Liberty, and Property, to pass the Remainder of an honourable Life in Sorrow, Exile and Poverty.

N^o. II. *Monday, August 15.*

LEST it should appear that, in stating and representing the Circumstances of Persons mentioned in the Report, I am guilty of Partiality, I admit the following Letter into my Paper.

To the Englishman.

S I R,

Aug. 12. 1715.

I Have read no less than six Times your Paper
 “ of this Day, wherein, according to my
 “ Apprehension, you defend the Conduct of the
 “ Duke of *Ormond*, and lay the whole Stress and
 “ Reason of the present Proceedings against him
 “ upon his Flight: That is, you cannot deny but
 “ it is justifiable to proceed against Men accused;
 “ so as that, if they will not abide by the Decision
 “ of their Peers and their Country, their Peers and
 “ their

“ their Country may, with all Justice and Equity,
 “ pronounce them guilty of what they dare not, in
 “ a legal Way, deny and controvert. He that is
 “ accused, and flies away, rather than answer to
 “ that Accusation, you are so kind as to admit,
 “ ought to be found guilty, and Suffer accordingly,
 “ as far as in his Absence he can. But, Sir, this is
 “ not enough; and I must be free to tell you, you
 “ have recounted all which a vitious Good-Nature,
 “ or the Weakness of very many honest Men a-
 “ mongst us could suggest to them in dealing with
 “ this unfortunate Man; but you have not repre-
 “ sented what those who act void of all Affection,
 “ Anger or Hatred, think on this Occasion. These
 “ latter Men have no manner of Regard to the
 “ Character of the Gentleman who has acted this
 “ Part, but fix their Eye upon Facts themselves.
 “ Be pleased then to have a little Patience with me,
 “ and I will give my Notion of this Matter.

“ On the 9th of May, N. S. (says the Report)
 “ the Duke of Ormond acknowledges the Receipt
 “ of two Letters from Mr. St. John of the 10th
 “ and 22d of April, neither of which appear. But
 “ his Grace says, in Answer to the Secretary, *I am*
 “ *of your Opinion, that a Battel won or lost would*
 “ *at this Time make very great Alterations in the*
 “ *Treaties now in foot: But you remember that,*
 “ *in my Instructions, I am ordered to act in Con-*
 “ *junction with the Allies in prosecuting the War*
 “ *with Vigour; so that, should there happen a fair*
 “ *Opportunity to attack the Enemy, I cannot refuse*
 “ *it, if propos'd by the Prince and States. But I*
 “ *hope to have the Messenger before the Armies are*
 “ *formed, which will be in 3 or 4 Days.*

“ On

" On the 12th of May, N. S. the Duke of Or-
 " mond expresses still the same Uneasiness, wishes
 " to hear from *England* that the Peace is near con-
 " cluded; but hopes, if it be delayed, we shall have
 " the good Fortune to force the *French* to comply
 " with the *Queen's Demands*.

" But his Grace was now soon put out of his
 " Pain by the Order mentioned before of May the
 " 10th, J. S. not to engage in any Siege or hazard
 " a Battel.

" On the 25th of May, N. S. the Duke of Or-
 " mond writes two Letters to Mr. St. John, a pri-
 " vate Letter and a publick Letter; in the first,
 " which was his private Letter, and all wrote in
 " his own Hand, his Grace acknowledges the Re-
 " ceipt of his Orders, not to engage in Siege or
 " Battel; to which he promises an exact Obedience,
 " and to keep secret his having received any such
 " Command, and will endeavour to hinder its being
 " suspected. But Prince Eugene and the States
 " having proposed to attack the Enemy, or, if that
 " be found too hazardous, to besiege *Quelnoy*, his
 " Grace fears it will be very difficult for him to dis-
 " guise the true Reason of his opposing all Proposals
 " that shall be made for undertaking any thing, ha-
 " ving no Excuse for Delays, all the Troops we ex-
 " pected, and the heavy Cannon, being to be here
 " on Saturday: And he says, If he could have
 " found Forage here, he would have made some
 " Pretence to delay the March, tho the Dispo-
 " sitions of it were made before he received this
 " Letter.

" But on the same Day his Grace writes ano-
 " ther publick Letter to Mr. St. John, after he had
 " receiv'd the Letter of the 10th, as is expressly said;
 " wherein

“ wherein he takes no notice of his Orders not to
 “ engage in Siege or Battel, but speaks of his ha-
 “ ving review’d the *English* Troops, and found
 “ them in so good a Condition, that must convince
 “ all the Allies how groundless the Complaints are
 “ that have been made of our Backwardness; of
 “ which he says, *I believe you will now hear no*
 “ *more.* He goes on: *If we find an Opportunity to*
 “ *bring the Enemy to a Battel, we shall not decline*
 “ *it.*

“ On the 28th of May, the Duke of Ormond
 “ in his Letter to Mr. St. John, says, Yesterday
 “ Prince Eugene and the States Deputies, desired
 “ that I would consent to send the Quarter Masters
 “ to view the French Camp; which I could not re-
 “ fuse, without giving them some Suspicion of what
 “ I am ordered to disguise; but I was sure that no-
 “ thing of Action could happen, the Enemy being
 “ behind the Schelde. The Detachment that went
 “ with them, were forty Squadrons, and all the
 “ Grenadiers of my Army to support them, and
 “ make good their Retreat; should the Enemy have
 “ endeavoured for to have attacked them. They
 “ went as far (I mean the Horse) as Catelet,
 “ where the Right of the Enemy’s Army lies, and
 “ are come back without seeing any of the French
 “ on our Side the Schelde.

“ The Distance between the Head of the Somme,
 “ and that of the Schelde, is not above a League
 “ and a Half, which is a Plain, and the Enemy
 “ have not yet offer’d to throw up any Retrench-
 “ ment: May be to Morrow they will begin to work,
 “ since they have seen our Troops reconnoitring that
 “ Way. Prince Eugene and the Deputies being to
 “ dine with his Grace the next Day, he was under

“ Ap-

“ Apprehensions they would press him to undertake something immediately, which it would be very hard to conceal the true Reason of his refusing, having no reasonable Excuse for it.

“ In this Letter, his Grace gives an Account of a Letter that he had received from Mareschal Villars, and the Answer that his Grace wrote to the Mareschal.

“ This Correspondence, which on both Sides is insisted upon to be kept as the most absolute Secret, is founded upon a Postscript in Mr. St. John's Letter of May the 10th to the Duke of Ormond; wherein he tells his Grace, *Communication is given of this Order to the Court of France; so that if Mareschal Villars takes any private way Notice of it to you, your Grace will answer accordingly.*

“ May the 25th, N. S. Mareschal Villars acquaints his Grace, *That he had the King's Orders, and the Queen of England's Consent, to write to him as soon as he received the Courier; and whatever Glory is to be acquired against a General, whose Valour is so well known among them, he desires him to be assured, that he never received more agreeable News, than that they were to be no longer Enemies.*

“ The Duke of Ormond in Answer acquaints him, *That he had received Orders from the Queen upon the same Subject, to which he would not fail to conform himself in the most exact Manner.*

“ This is conformable to the Intimation given by Mr. St. John, *That if Mareschal Villars takes any private way Notice of his Orders, his Grace was to answer accordingly.*

“ But

“ But his Grace proceeds further, and says, *The*
“ *Motion which we are going to make, is principal-*
“ *ly for the Subsistence of our Troops, so that you*
“ *need not be under any Apprehension at this*
“ *March; at least I can answer for the Queen's*
“ *Army, which I have the Honour to command.*

“ Your Committee is at a Loss to account for
“ this Transaction, unless his Grace had Orders not
“ only not to act against *France*, but to give the
“ *French* General Intelligence of all that was de-
“ sign'd in the Confederate Army.

“ The Report being made by the Quarter-
“ Masters General, who went with the Detach-
“ ment to view the *French* Camp, and the Over-
“ ture between the Sources of the *Somme* and the
“ *Schelde*, and they all agreeing that the Ground
“ was as advantageous as could be, their Situation
“ being such as gave an Opportunity of falling up-
“ on their Flank and Rear, it was propos'd to the
“ Duke of *Ormond* to march without the least De-
“ lay to the Enemy, and to attack them.

“ What his Grace did upon this Occasion, is
“ best to be learnt from his own Words, in his Let-
“ ter of May the 29th to Mr. St. John. You may
“ easily imagine the Difficulty that I was under, to
“ excuse the delaying a Matter, which, according
“ to the Informations I had from the Quarter-Ma-
“ sters-General, and several other General Officers
“ that went out with the Detachment, seem'd to be
“ so practicable. The best Excuse I could make
“ was Lord Strafford's sudden Voyage to England,
“ which gave me Reason to believe there must be
“ something of Consequence transacting, which a
“ Delay of four or six Days would bring to Light;
“ and therefore I desired they would defer this Un-
“dertaking,

*“dertaking, or any other, until I should receive
“fresh Letters from England.*

*“Now, Sir, what I take Notice of is, that the
“Duke acted here a very artful Part, in writing
“one Letter, promising to keep secret that he had
“any Orders restraining him to Fight, and to
“obey that Restraint; and another, saying, If we
“find an Opportunity to bring the Enemy to a Bat-
“tel, we shall not decline it. The Duke’s Letter
“of the 9th of May, N. S. makes this Carriage as
“Guilty as it is Artificial; for he says, you re-
“member that in my Instructions I am ordered to
“act in Conjunction with the Allies, in prosecuting
“the War with Vigour. Again, on the 12th of
“May, He hopes, if the Peace be delayed, we shall
“have the good Fortune to make the French comply
“with the Queen’s Demands. These Circumstan-
“ces, as they lye before you, must convince you
“that the Duke acted consciously what he acted:
“He knew the Imperfection of his Orders, when
“he bid the Secretary remember his first Instructi-
“ons to Fight: He knew he could not do other-
“wise, upon proper Opportunity, than give Bat-
“tel; and it is as evident as if we saw such a Di-
“rection given for that Purpose in St. John’s
“Letter of the 22d of April, that he writ in Con-
“formity to the first Instructions; and it is to hide
“this Conspiracy that he sent Letters of different
“Purport of the same Day to the Secretary; that
“one was to assure the Secretary he would forbear
“Fighting, and the other was to enable the Se-
“cretary to deceive others into an Opinion that
“he was ready to Fight. Now where is what you
“say, *Some would say with Warmth, that he could
“not have disputed his Orders, and distinguish*
“his*

" his Circumstances from that of others concerned
 " in this Great Affair. They were Privy Counsel-
 " lers, and responsible, as such, for the Orders
 " which were given out; for they are, according to
 " the Constitution, Authors of the Determinati-
 " ons of State, and could not act without incurring
 " the greatest Guilt, for they were to answer that
 " what was Commanded, was fit to be obeyed? Sup-
 " posing, but not granting, that the Duke of Or-
 " mond was to take his Orders implicitly, does
 " that authorize him to give, besides the true Ac-
 " count of Things, a false Account, whereby to
 " impose upon the other her Majesty's Ministers?
 " Because he was not obliged to understand
 " the first Spring and Cause of Action, but take
 " Orders upon Content, must he be in a Plot with
 " any one Minister to Abuse and Mislead all the
 " rest? Till my Lord Duke pleases to come and
 " clear this Matter to us, he appears to have con-
 " trived with *Bolingbroke* a Means to lay asleep all
 " the just Jealousies of any of her Majesty's Mini-
 " sters, her Parliament, or any of her Subjects, in
 " order to frustrate the Operations of the War,
 " and give all the Advantages of it to the Enemy.
 " You must, to this Method of Deceiving us at
 " Home, add the other Practice at the same Time
 " of Acting in Concert with *Villars*, communica-
 " ting to him the Motions of the Allies, and an-
 " swering, *That the Army which he had the Honour*
 " *to Command* should do him no Hostility.
 " Thus it is unanswerably evident the Duke of
 " *Ormond* contriv'd to put false Appearances on the
 " Nation at Home, and gave *fur her* Intelligence
 " to the Enemy Abroad, than he had any Authori-
 " ty, or Colour of Authority for doing.

" You

" You say, *The last Instructions he had, intimat-*
 " *ted the Queen's general Disposition of Friendship*
 " *towards France, and following that Disposition he*
 " *believed his most defensible Carriage during the*
 " *want of Orders.*

" This, indeed, is an Argument so weak, that it
 " does not deserve to be called, as you term it,
 " even *Specious.*

" If it were needful, (after I have shewn that
 " the Duke did as much as he was accused of, know-
 " ingly, and with a Consciousness of the Guilt of
 " it,) I would prove to you, that there is no Sense
 " in what you have advanced when you make this
 " Question, *Whether it would not be below the Dign-*
 " *ity of Candid Accusers to dispute the Sufficiency*
 " *of his Orders, since with an honest Mind he*
 " *thought them Sufficient; and if he thought them*
 " *Sufficient, he could not have an ill Will in himself*
 " *in obeying their Purport.*

" If his Orders were not Sufficient in themselves,
 " he could not with an honest Mind think them
 " Sufficient. The honest Mind in a Man in Em-
 " ployment, is required by our Constitution to be
 " a Mind well instructed in that Constitution, and
 " capable of knowing when he Errs, or is in the
 " Right. And his Opinion of his Actions, is not of
 " Weight on this or t^other Side of the Question,
 " but he must stand or fall by what the Fact is in
 " itself, and not by what he thinks of it. With
 " this just View of the Case, I deny what you
 " say, *If he was so weak as to believe it, still he*
 " *believed it, and the first Part of Treason,*
 " *the evil Mind, is thereby not to be found.*
 " His civil Crime is the same, tho' his moral Beha-
 " viour is not. His Conscience may approve what

“ he does, when the Law very justly condemns him.
 “ This, Sir, is so great a Truth, that it is out of
 “ all Question; and the Law is so careful, that
 “ there should be no Instruments found for artful
 “ Men to act Treason by, that Idiosy it self, which
 “ is an Incapacity of judging at all, will not excuse
 “ a Man for being the Hand which commits a treasonable Act.

“ Upon the whole, I do really believe, *James*
 “ Duke of *Ormond* was wrought upon to engage in
 “ the Interests of the Pretender; and not only from
 “ the legal Presumption of Flight, but from the
 “ deliberate Conduct above set forth, and the Intervals wherein he was at large from any Instructions, as well as the Plot for deceiving us at Home, and going beyond Instructions in favour of the Enemy, I sincerely think he will, on the Day after the Day limited in the Bill of Attainder against him, be Guilty of High Treason, and forfeit accordingly with as much Justice, as if he had been found Guilty by his Peers, and had lost his Head that Day on *Tower-Hill*

“ All which, in Consideration of the good Qualities of this Noble Lord, I lament as much as you, or any other Man in *Great-Britain*; and am,

S I R,

Your most Humble Servant.

Pray, if you ever talk again of Bolingbroke, give him what the Wretch deserves, for leaving the Duke of Ormond's Answer, and not his own Letters, of April the 22d.

Friday,

N^o 12. *Friday, August 19.*

WHEN we look back on our late Distresses, we cannot but wonder that there were Men among us who could expect any thing less than publick Calamity, from the first Steps the *Parricides* took upon their Entrance into Power. A most able, upright, and experienced Minister was dismissed from his High Station, after a long Series of successful Services, to make Way for a meer Undertaker. That Great Man shall not be pass'd by in the Narrations of the *Englishman*; but what shall take up my present Thoughts, shall be the open Trespas against Common Sense, and that Basis of all Government, the Reward of Vertue, which was made in determining the Commission of the Duke of *Marlborough*.

As this Nobleman's Character is very little understood, tho' he has been so many Years the Person of all the World the most Eminently set out to View, it cannot but be, at least, some Entertainment to the Reader, to receive so uncommon a Thing as an impartial Description of the most Famous Man in the Age, and he yet Living. He had for many Years been the Theme of Panegyrists, when the *Parricides* undertook, by the Pens of mercenary Writers, to depreciate his Reputation: But how such Outrages could safely be committed against him, after so great Services and Successes, will appear from some Particularities, which, per-

haps, were never before blended in the Character and Complection of an Heroe.

The less thinking Part of Mankind must have something Vast and Irregular to move their Admiration, while the Wise are charmed with Propriety, Beauty and Order. The Duke of *Marlborough*, it is certain, has in his very Mein something expressive of a Great Spirit, but it is the Picture of a Spirit well governed, attentive to the Business of Life, easy of Commerce, not assuming from its own Reflections or Endowments, but observant of the Abilities and Pretensions of other Men. It looks as if one was talking of a Man in the first Year of Life, and not of one who has passed thirty in the Greatest Scenes in the World, to say he is a Person of the most exemplary Modesty. Were he to be met in Conversation where he were not known, a skilful Stranger would find him the ablest Man in the Company; but it could never be discovered that he had the least Fondness for his own Opinion. His Manners are so gentle, and he enters so easily into ordinary Life, that a Man who had not a fine Taste would wonder he should ever have supported a Command; and a Man of Understanding would be as much astonished that he should ever have met with Opposition. When I speak of Opposition, I mean that of *Parricides*, or ignorant Men among ourselves, who either have no Sense of such Merit, or, knowing it, turned their Thoughts how to supplant and defeat it, by hitting some unguarded Part. Complacency, Good Nature, and a certain Facility, which extends itself even to known Adversaries, are the Defects in the Armour of this Glorious Captain; and tho' they are so many Redoubts

doubts to strengthen him in the Eyes of Generous and Vertuous Men, the meaner Sort do themselves no Violence when they break in upon Vertue and Merit, even at a Place where it is an Addition to that Vertue and Merit to stand expos'd to their Assaults.

This Freedom of Discourse, is, I confess, extraordinary, and this Examination of Men now actually in the Business of the Nation, appears unwarrantable according to good Breeding and Decency; but the *Parricides* have so utterly overturn'd all Rule and Order, that it is impossible to observe strict Methods, and unravel their Perplexities. It is not to be accounted for, that the *Parricides* should have attempted the Ruin of the Duke of Marlborough, but from the Consideration of the uncommon Humility in so illustrious a Character. To have won *Donawert*, *Oudenard*, *Blenheim*, *Ramelies*, and *Mons*, as a General; to have managed Negotiations and Friendships with all the Princes of Europe, with the utmost Skill and Success, could neither plead for, or make terrible a Personage who uses nothing but those Services to urge in his own Behalf, and appears in a Court with the Condescension and Affability of a Man setting out in his Fortunes and Reputation. The common Lump of Mankind know no Greatness but in Show and Appearance; and he who has nothing Ostentatious, keeps half of his true Merit out of Sight, at least out of Sight of all but the Wise and the Good, who are a Party too weak for the Vain, the Loud, and the Unreasonable.

But the Promotion of the Interests of France was the Principle upon which the *Parricides* acted; and this could not be better effected, than by

the Dismission of him who had humbled, and mortified her. It is not saying enough, to assert that the Removal of this Officer, for the Sake of any other, was a greater Advantage to the Enemy, than the Surrender of *Dunkirk*; tho' that Surrender had been attended with a faithful Demolition: And such Experience, Success, Ability in the Field, and tractable Conduct at Home, are concurrent Advantages in a Servant, which no Prince but the Sovereign, served by the Duke of *Marlborough*, ever had at his Devotion. Such Services have generally appeared dangerous to Princes, but it never happened but to this Noble Lord, that the low Value placed upon them by himself was ever dangerous to him who performed them. The most desirable Quality that can be wished, and which was only wished, never seen before the Time of this Instance, in a Successful Captain, is the Capacity and good Sense to become like other Subjects in his ordinary Behaviour out of Action; but this amiable Temper was the Snare in which the Graceless Destroyers surprized the Duke of *Marlborough*. Could he out of Consideration of himself only have exerted the least Degree of that generous Fire and Resolution, which he has so often manifested for his Country, our Trade and our Glory had advanced in due Proportion from our Victories, and the giddy Heads which projected his Downfal, had not now been in Danger of being severed from the Bodies, which now bear them in as much Infamy as the Law can place them after their Separation.

But to be cool, in the Retrospect to what has happened in the World, from the Management
of

of the *Parricides*, the sacrificing of the Duke of *Marlborough*, was the *Open Deed* which convinced all discerning Men of their intended Treason. It was Absurdity in Government, to part with a Man whose Fame and Character was the great Treasure of the *English* Glory: His Reputation to our Arms, is like Credit to our Wealth. While Credit lasts, you may grow Rich, and keep your Money in your Purses; and while your Fame is safe, you may keep your Swords in their Scabbards. But the *Parricides* had Impudence enough to make it a Point of the Prerogative, not to be tyed down to Merit, but to exert its undoubted Right to chuse its own Instruments, by dismissing those which had done it most Service. Having spoken of Glory and Credit together, I cannot omit one Remark very peculiar to this great Captain, that his Wealth has been as serviceable to his Country as his Reputation: For, if it were proper, many Incidents could be produced, wherein an Officer who was not as much known for the Oeconomy and Greatness of his Fortune, tho' as considerable for his Fame in Arms, could not have accomplished what he has done. Marches have been undertaken, and Intelligence given upon the private Assurance and Note of the General only, that have more than once turned the Fate of *Europe*: Is not this Generosity? Is not this the most consummate, the most hazardous, the most seasonable Bounty, at one Stake to put Life and Fortune, the Glory of a Series of Action, the Product of a long Course of Frugality, upon the Event of a doubtful Instant, and in that Instant to command after-Dispositions, and take new Measures, as if the Fate of the

World, and, if I may mention what he did not think of, that of himself, were but a Matter of ordinary Acceptation?

The *Parricides* had Reflection enough to know the popular Force of this unexampled Merit, and therefore took the most effectual Methods to undermine it; for which End, they set up Declaimers for and against him in all publick Conversations, by which Means, and the Iniquity of their Pamphleteers, it became a Thing to be spoken of without Indignation, that the Duke of *Marlborough* was to be removed from his Command. It is above explained, that this great Instrument of Providence is as tractable in civil Life, as the lowest Subject: And the Certainty of his Opposers, that his Indignation would never be raised against their little Devices enough to return their Injuries, taught them, that they might without Hazard attempt, what it would be very Gainful to accomplish; and on this Foot it was dared to move the Queen to disgrace the Duke of *Marlborough*; a Request no less than if they had said to Her, *Madam, may it please your Majesty to throw away what you know by Experience can do you the utmost Service, and what all your Subjects think can do so, and try what you have no Reason to hope any Thing from, and which cannot but put all Men in doubt of all your Affairs, as well as that Part of them lately under his Conduct.*

From this first Sketch, the Reader may form to himself the Shades and Lights that are necessary to set the whole Figure in its proper View; Undiscerning Men were soon giddy enough to

to think Favour Desert; and by the same Delusion, the Loss of Favour, Diminution of Desert. This Treatment of the Duke of *Marlborough*, in the *Parricides*, seemed to proceed from a Folly, like that of the *Indian*, who slew a beautiful and valiant *European*, out of a Belief that his Perfections would fall to the Man that killed him; and puts me in mind of an aspiring Youth in *Alexander's* Camp, who, when he ask'd, *How he should become the most Famous Man?* was answer'd, *Dispatch the most Famous.* After this bold and unreasonable Stroke, it will appear in our future Discourses, that all the Evils which followed, were not only to be expected from, but the natural Consequences of such a senseless and open Ingratitude.

N^o. 13. *Monday, August 22.*

THE Treason practis'd against these Nations was carried on by Persons who had lost all Sense of Honour and Conscience, and their Tools, who never had any Notion of those Motives. These latter are ready upon all Occasions to do Things unworthy, not only the Stations in which they are employed, but unbecoming the Character even of Men. We have a flaming Instance of this, in the late Conduct of one of their Ministers, known about Town by the familiar Name of *Tom Harley*, whom you find mentioned in the Report. Mr. *St. John*, in a Letter to Monsieur *Torcy*, says, *He had deferred Writing of late, till he might write*
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with Certainty; till the necessary Dispositions were made among our People at Home; and till the Queen had taken the only Resolution, which could bring us, in a short time, to a good and solid Peace. I have now the Satisfaction to tell you, that this Resolution is taken, and that Mr. Harley will carry with him, this Night or To-morrow Morning, the final Instructions of the Queen to her Plenipotentiaries. I refer my self to Monsiur Gaultier, to explain to you more at large the Subject of this Gentleman's Commission, and what the Queen hopes his most Christian Majesty will do to Co-operate with her. Mr. St. John before this, had sent Word to the Ministers at Utrecht, that Plenipotentiary Tom would be with them in few Days; and says of his Excellency, that it were to be wished this Gentleman could have been sooner sent; but he was too useful to be spared, till the House of Commons was perfectly secured to the Queen's Interest, and to the Measures of Peace.

By this it appears Tom was a very Great Man, and had the Management of no less a Transaction than preparing the House of Commons, which we do not know was done by his Eloquence, for the Queen's Measures, and giving the last Intimations of the *Queen's Views and Desires* to the Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht.

As it appears Tom was thus highly employed, it appears also that he was, in this Administration, the fittest Man in the World to be so: For this Consummate Statesman has thought of a Way of doing what he pleases with Impunity. We have often heard, that People have acquir'd Methods of helping themselves in the Execution of Business, by an artificial Memory; but Tom has done more than ever could be hoped from such an Advantage,
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by a quite contrary Talent which he seems to be Master of, an artificial Forgetfulness. His Excellency has lately been examined upon Oath, before a Justice of Peace, concerning the Matters wherein, by the Minutes of the Offices, he unanswerably appears to have been employed; but he makes one firm and general Answer to the whole, *He remembers not the least Circumstance of any Transaction with which he was entrusted.* Tom has sworn, in Effect, that he was employed by a Lady who was at that Time Queen of England; and that this Lady gave him several Instructions for her Service, and ordered many other Matters to be written down for him, but as to what she said herself to him, he had utterly forgot it; but he did not deny but that he did remember such a Gentlewoman, that she had spoken to him very civilly, that he had a great Respect for her; but as to the Papers written for his Conduct Abroad, he had left them in the Secretary's Office, where they were drawn up; for he was of Opinion, Papers could not be safer than in the Secretary's Office. He farther deposed, with great Candor, That when he was in *Holland* he writ a great many Letters, and received a great many Letters; but he is upon Oath, and must act cautiously, therefore he cannot charge his Memory so as to be able to name any one Person to whom he writ, or from whom he received Letters: He had utterly forgot the Name of every individual Person, and does not remember any one Person except that excellent Gentlewoman, whom he shall never forget, who, to the best of his Memory, was then Queen. He was asked about one *Gaultier*; upon Reflection he was apt to think, for he was upon Oath, and could not be positive, that he
had

had seen that Man, and had heard of him somewhere, but could not tell where, and he must be cautious in such Cases as these; but he was sure he never talked with him, or had had any Business with him; if he had he could not now charge himself with it, for an Oath is a weighty thing.

This, you must know, is all fine Parts and Skill: *Tom* is by this reckoned a shrewd cunning Fellow. I have not any where met with any thing like this Conduct but once in my whole Life, and that was thus: It was many Years ago there was a Fellow taken at Four of the Clock in the Morning, in the Court-Yard of one of the great Houses in *Piccadilly*: He was shrewdly suspected to have come in thither over Night, with a Design to rob the House, and carried before a Justice: The Justice and his Clerk were both ready, and they proceeded to examine him, after taking the Oaths of Servants to the Circumstance of finding him in the Yard. In the first place, he was asked his Name; to which he answered, my Name is *Jabez Dzeldrelzts*, with two Z's: A very odd Name, says the Justice. But pray, Mr. *Dzeldrelzts*, give me an Account what you are, and how you came into my Lord's Court-Yard, and what you had to do there. To which Mr. *Dzeldrelzts* answered, with a very grave Countenance, Sir, I had been with some Friends of mine at *Knightsbridge*, and coming very peaceably Home, under this Noble Lord's blind Wall, I met with a Gentleman reeling from the *Sun-Tavern*, who asked me what was my Name. I told him, as I do your Worship, that my Name was *Dzeldrelzts*; *Dzeldrelzts*! you Dog, said he, and took and threw me over the Wall; and I was loth to trouble the

the Family, and I walked about the Yard till the Servants found me, and brought me before your Worship. And, Sir, by the Oath you have taken, you were canted over the Wall of Nine Foot high; and you have taken no manner of Hurt, and you would not call to any one to let you out—I can't believe it; draw his *Mittimus*. Upon which the Examinant said, upon his Word and Honour, it was just so, and hoped he should be believed till there was Proof of his having come in another Way. *Sirrah*, says the Justice, I am satisfied you are a *Rogue*, for I am sure you did not come in this Way; You say what must be a Lye in its own Nature. *Sirrah*, I shall not reckon you harmless, because you are stupid and dull; nor innocent, because you are very calm and impudent.

This is Perjury practised in the most shameless Manner; and well may such a Creature rise to this *Effronterie*, when he sees a Question made of Guilt in others, which is as evident as this Perjury in himself. It is as stupid, to make any Doubt whether the Facts committed by the late Ministry are legally proved, when none other but they have committed them, as it would be to doubt whether this *Tom Harley* speaks Truth or not, when he says he does not remember any one Point, or Particular, of all the Business which passed through his Hands. Some Men run away from the Law, and the Law for that Reason proceeds upon them as Guilty: There is no Reason in Nature, why Prevarication should be more tenderly treated, except confronting and evading Justice, be a less Crime than flying from it: It is in effect flying from it, to evade it, and the Crime is doubled, by the Pretence of escaping
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Punishment, through a specious Compliance with the Law in the Act of answering; but trampling upon it, by answering frivolously and ineffectually.

It is one thing, if *Tom Harley* insists that he will not answer, and puts himself upon this Tryal, if he has done amiss; and another to talk to Authority, as willing to give all the Information in his Power, and to say nothing but what is impossible should be True.

Such an Oath as this may, perhaps, cause more Laughter from its Absurdity; but if we have not lost all Sense of Virtue, must move Horror from its Wickedness.

But *Tom* is a servile Imitator of a Kinsman of his; and because He would say one Thing, and do another at the same Instant, *Tom* carries on the Humour so far, as to speak against evident Facts, and is certainly of Opinion, if People will treat a Man as if they believed him, for saying roundly a Thing they knew to be false, though they could not prove it, they will have still much more regard to him who swears to it. We have all heard of a Man, who said he was a Fool, a Knave, and a Traytor, who could be guilty of what it has since appeared he was at that Time himself guilty. And this Way of treating Mankind, is peculiar to a certain House, and runs in the Blood.

It is a very melancholy Reflection, to find such Creatures could ever have been employed in a Civilized Nation, that can have so little Deference to the rest of the World, or themselves, as to make such a Figure as collateral *Harley* does by this Conduct. Let any Man look over all the Re-

gisters

gisters of the Goals in the King's Dominions, and the like Meanness cannot be found. You see sometimes Obstinacy, which proceeds from a Disdain, or Resentment, which has for its Source something which is Manly and Resolute. Russians have fallen upon their Keepers, and though against all Justice, shewn a Strength of Body and Mind yet remaining, though perverted; but to answer without Shame, without pretending to Madness, or Idiocy, the direct contrary to Self-evident Truth, is a State of Soul below what the most abject and abandoned Criminals have ever yet fallen into. And be it therefore known unto all Men, that the greatest and meanest Rogue that were ever consigned to Infamy,* were of one and the same Family.

N^o. 14. *Friday, August 26.*

WHEN we first begin to think, it appears a natural Piece of Gratitude to lift up our Eyes and Hands to Heaven, that we are placed above the Beasts of the Field: And a Man cannot but carry this Reflection still farther, in acknowledging the Distinction of being born to Fortunes, endued with pleasing Dispositions; but above all, to such Civil Rights as we express by the Word Liberty. The most important Instance of this Happiness is Liberty of Conscience; and it is of the

the Essence of the Protestant Religion, both to assert it for ourselves, and to allow it to others. The Horror which a Reasonable Man has to Popery it self, is chiefly raised from the Usurpation of Power in Secular Matters, and a pretended Superiority to all Ordinances and Establishments among Men, from his Authority who declared his Empire not to be of this World. It is not therefore to be thought on with Patience, that there is now subsisting in *Europe* an Impostor, who assumes to himself all Power and Dominion, and assigns to the Professors of the same Religion, gloomy Solitudes and painful Exercises, as the only Way to that Heaven of which he has the Keys, and to which he can give Admittance, not only without those Severities, but even to Persons who lead Lives abandoned to Worldly Pomp and Sensual Pleasure. Nunneries and Monasteries are the Goals of Ecclesiastical Tyranny. The prodigious Cheat of Locking up Young People of both Sexes, by ridiculous and supererogatory Vows of Chastity and Abstinence, in bar of the honest Gratifications which are allowed to Natural Desires, and were given us for the Ends of Providence; I say, this one unreasonable Circumstance, one would suppose, might open the Eyes of all Nations against an Institution that runs counter to Nature it self. Men and Women are preserved from Incontinence, as Thieves and Cut-throats are from Bloodshed and Rapine; not by Precepts which should create in them an Abhorrence of committing those Sins, but by Locks and Bars, which put it out of their Power to commit them.

If th's is the Case of those who are favoured and revered by the Professors of that Religion, which is imposed upon Mankind for Christianity, What can we expect will become of those who are Offenders against it? If the highest State of Religious Happiness is in being abstracted from the World, and let loose to be a Prey to the Suggestions of Melancholy, or Stings of Concupiscence, without Opportunities of extricating themselves by Acts of Goodness and Commercial Life, which is certainly the Consummate State of true Vertue and Piety, What will they prescribe to those whom they look upon as Criminals and Hereticks? Imprisonment and Penances are as good for the Sinner as the Saint; and the Misbeliever is delivered over to the Tormentor. The Civil State is subordinate to the Ecclesiastical. So shameless are the pretended Followers of him who came into the World for the Redemption of it, that in his Name they impose Chains, and lead into Captivity.

Our late *Parricides* knew very well, that so noble a Principle as that of the Protestant Religion must stand in the Way of all Tyranny whatsoever, and therefore, in their whole Conduct, did all that in them lay to lessen the Interests of it in all Parts of the World. The specious Pretence of Guarding the Church was made use of to Disparage and Undermine it: And at the Expence of Vertue and Piety, a furious Zeal for whatever was promoted by the Plans of some particular Men, included, in the Imaginations of the Vulgar, all the Articles of Religion, and Ties of Humanity. The Foreign Protestants, and our own Dissenters, were villified and despised as a Crowd of Ignorant Fanaticks: And while great Numbers of Confessors were, contrary

trary to Treaty, retained in the Gallies, the Refugees among us were slighted, abused and overlooked, as a Race of Men that were, in their Principles, Enemies to that Government in which they had taken Sanctuary. Thus Numbers of Men Eminent in Commerce, and Useful as Artificers in Manual Works, grew faint, and abated their Industry in the Service of the Publick, as well as of themselves, while the known Abettors of the Cause of the Pretender were made Objects of Favour and Encouragement.

It were therefore no useless Entertainment to look back upon the Ecclesiastical State of Things amongst us during the Administration of the *Paricides*. Incendiaries, superficial Wits, and the worst Kind of Men, Ministers of the Gospel, tainted with Avarice and Ambition, were the Instruments made use of to divert the People from a Sense of their true Interest, and carry on the Good of the Church, and the Destruction of Religion.

The most Popular of all the Lay-Brothers, was a Noble Lord who is now plotting against his Country at *Paris*; a Gentleman famous for contemning Religion, and hating Schism. Renegades from Popery and Presbytery, that came into the Church as a Qualification for the Preferments of this World, without any Regard to the Prospects of the next, were the Leaders in the Hierarchy of the late Ministry. One true Blue Fanatick kept her Majesty's Treasure, while another of the same Kidney was Keeper of her Conscience; the first dispos'd of her Cash to promote the Power of *France*, and the other scrupled the Writ to a Protestant Successor. The most open Instances which the *Paricides* could give of their Adherence to the Cause of Popery

Popery and Slavery, were made Recommendations to the abused People, who were taught to hate their Neighbours, for no other Reason but because they were such, and to love their Enemies, for no other Reason but their Consent in Hatred of those their Neighbours. In a word, the *Parricides* worked the People to hate all Nations and Persons, but that Nation and those Persons, who, if they consulted their Interest, should only be the Objects of their Hatred.

When Princes and Potentates were in Alliance for their common Good, and were so far Protestants, they were put into Difficulties, and opposed by the *Parricides*; but when their Pretensions fortified Tyranny and Popery, they were assisted and asserted. *The Degradation of the Elector of Hanover* was made Matter of no Concern; but the Restoration of the Duke of *Bavaria* Essential and Necessary.

But, in spite of all the false Impressions which wicked and ambitious Men endeavour to give the People, there is certainly a Church and a People that will always be preserved; and Truth has an Almighty Supporter, that can, in the twinkling of an Eye, alter the State of Affairs through the whole Earth, and disappoint the Wiles of the Crafty, as well as the Violences of the Mighty.

The World has lately lost the greatest Churchman in it, I mean Churchman according to the modern Acceptation of it. Much Zeal, and little Knowledge, constitute that Character. A vigorous Youth spent in the most Libertine Manner, a long Life passed in continual Projects for disturbing the Repose of Mankind, and the most cruel Persecution of his best Subjects, do not in the least hurt his
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Ecclesiastical Character. But when laying waste whole Provinces, and sacrificing to Fury and Ambition the Lives and Fortunes of Millions of Mankind, is compared with the meek, generous, and human Spirit, which is inculcated by the Christian Institution, Where shall we look for the *most Christian*? This we are not in Decency, or Religion, to make a Subject of Enquiry; but it behoves all that are still among Mortals, to know that the worst of all Wickedness is to carry on the Cause of Hell under the Appearance of Zeal to Heaven. The Truth it self is apparent to all who will give themselves Leave to enquire after it, and it is the peculiar Happiness of the *English* Subject, that he can make this Enquiry without the Hazard of his Liberty or Fortune; and the peculiar Glory of the Church of *England*, that it wants no such mean Shifts, as imposing Pains and Penalties, to support Her Reputation. In this Circumstance therefore, as well as all other, the *Parricides* have been Betrayers and Traytors, and have exposed our Religious Rights with as much Guilt as they have our Civil: And it concerns them to remember, That Hypocrisy cannot be hid from him whom it offends, tho' Treason can from him whom it betrays.

N^o. 15. *Monday, August 29.*

THE Passion for Glory which is implanted in the Minds of Great Men, under due Regulations, is the Spring of the most illustrious Actions; but

but when it is not guided by Justice and Reason, it hurries Men to the most execrable Wickedness. When the Imagination is once touched with a false Sense of this Glory, the Colours of Good and Evil begin to change; the Love of Fame grows tarnished with Ambition; Wealth and Power become desirable for their own Sakes; and Men lose the Sense that they may be Contemptible in the full Possession of both: The Dictates of their own Hearts are no more to be the Rules of their Conduct, but the Opinion of the Vulgar: The Applause of the People is what must be consulted for the future, to the certain Loss of a Man's Quiet, and the constant Offence, or utter Extinction of his Conscience. The Notion of Greatness was never so poor and despicable as in the last Century. In the former Part of it an Infant came to the Throne of *France*; and, tho' he had from Nature noble Faculties of Body and Mind, he was, from his most tender Years, trained up in the Arts and Artifices of Vain-glory, and taught to look upon himself as a Being above the rest of Mortals, and to form his Words and Actions accordingly. By this Means, he was educated to do nothing but with a superior Air to all other Men, which made him grow into a sort of Mechanism of Royalty, and to act nothing indifferently. As his Years advanced, this Prepossession inclined him indeed to all Acts of Gentleness, Mercy and Generosity in his Person, but of Cruelty and Injustice in his Government. Provided he could not, as indeed he could not, charge his Thoughts with Baseness or Cruelty, as arising from a Concern to himself only, the most profligate Enterprizes were undertaken for Reasons of State, and the Cause of Empire. The Politicians,

ans, who had the Direction of his tender Mind, debarred him purposely from Literature, that a gross Idea of Greatness might the better pass upon him, and make him the Instrument of the projected Disturbances which he was to give Mankind, without being conscious to himself, that his Part was a guilty One in all which he was to perform; for what he was to believe, was for the Glory and Honour of himself and his People.

This was the stupid and mechanick Grandeur which was set up for the Destruction of the Natural, Civil, and National Rights of the rest of the World, to extend the Territories, and advance the Glory of *France*. For this base End, a noble Nature was to be abused and deluded, to take the most solemn Oath and Renunciation of the Crown of *Spain*, with a Reserve of coming at it in the Issue of a Marriage, allowed to take Place but with that Exception. A Family and Empire laid in Imposture and Perjury, at the Expence of the Lives of half the Species born in the Territories of his Neighbours, and those of his own, appears to have been permitted to ripen, only to be cut down by the Sickle of Providence; and that great and pompous Instrument of wicked Politicians, to have been made the memorable Example and Confusion of vain Pretenders to Grandeur, upon any other Basis than that of Truth and Honour.

Can there be a more instructive or pleasing Lesson, to those who are Lovers of true Greatness, than to behold the Fall of a Pageant of Man's making, and to meditate on the instant Destruction, which came like a Blast from Above, upon the Devices of silly Men, that will lay Plans against eternal and immutable Justice!

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The last Scene of the mighty Monarch, was, that he had formed a Project to defeat the Legal Regent of the Crown, after his Demise, of his Succession to that Authority; but to keep him off from suspecting the Artifice, declared him with his dying Breath, what he never intended he should be. He joined a Number of other Princes in that Authority, to act according to Majority of Voices, and doubted not but the Credit of those Princes would be too great in the Parliament, for the single Interest of the Regent. But Right prevailed, and the Effusion of the Blood of all Nations, and the constant Alarm, given to all Mankind, for above half a Century, to raise his Name and Family, has ended in nothing, but his falling to the Dust in Contempt; and finishing a Life of Fraud, Violence and Perjury, with the Shame and Disappointment of having in vain attempted to have committed a Cheat after his Death.

The Glorious Exit was preceded by a Gracious Edict some few Days before, to ease the Subject of a certain Number of Millions, the Possession of which, miserably exposed them to the Frauds and Exortions of Usurers. This Farewel Cheat was introduced by a most profound Consideration; for his Majesty very well knowing, that there were few or no Bills in the Hands of the first Owners at first Purchase, but that they had all passed in Sale and Payment, most tenderly promises to give the first Owners Annuities for the full Value the Bills carry, but to take the Advantage of the Discount to all other Purchasers. These two Circumstances speak the Misery of Arbitrary Power, and the Folly of Ambition, as amply as if we were to run through the several Stages of the noisy Life of this unfortunate

unfortunate Prince, who lived in false Glory, and dyed with sincere Ignominy.

The false Taste of Greatness in the Court of *France*, over-run many other Parts of *Europe*; and the Force of Fashion taken from a Court of a Prince, who lived in Contradiction to common Honesty, insensibly affected the Manners of other Nations. Politicians, and Men of Business, from this Source and Example of the *French* way of thinking, became Cheats and Impostors. Success became the Measure of Reputation, and Reproach attended none but the unfortunate. But it is to be hoped happy Incidents meet, wherein Virtue and Honesty will be kept in Countenance, and Plain Dealing be again amongst Mankind, the best Pretension to Honour and Esteem, as well as the best Engine for the Execution of Business. According to the Genius of the present Age, one would think a Man had no other Business in this World, but to make a Fortune, and the one Thing *necessary* were to be Rich.

The servile Imitators of *French* Manners among us, went into all their Corruption. Our *French* Ministers thought it their Point to enlarge their Fortune at the Expence of the Publick, with as little Reserve as his Most Christian Majesty extended his Empire, in Contempt of the Faith of Nations.

It was not so of Old: The Corruption of Great Men had something more Generous remaining in it; Vanity always went a great way, but the Vanity of Men was formerly to appear more Wise, more Valiant, or more Human; all good Qualities were not excluded; and a certain Contempt of being thought Knaves, is a Weed of this Age, which

which has grown to an Height that makes it an Ornament, instead of being an Offence to the Garden.

Happy that Nation wherein there is no Power unlimited, but that of doing Good, and the Methods of doing it prescribed by the Wisdom of our Forefathers; wherein the Laws, which know no Passion, can be biassed by no Favour or Affection, have the Decision of our Lives and our Fortunes; wherein the Instruments that have at any Time sacrificed the Safety and Interest of their Fellow Subjects, have made an Attonement to their injured Country, and been Examples of the Instability of all Machinations and Designs which are laid in Falshood. It must be Corruption in ourselves who are injured, if the Causes of our late Dangers and Calamities, are not the Casts-away of the Earth: And it is not to be doubted, but the due Vengeance will overtake the *Parricides*, whom the Hand of Heaven has seized in the midst of their prosperous Iniquity.

Personal Infirmities, and Errors of Judgment, may seem to plead for Men who have through them fallen into Crimes; but the Conspirators, who have betrayed an happy and triumphant People to the Hands of their Enemies, must be appointed for signal Punishment, which will overtake them, or those who shall overlook the immediate Hand of Heaven, that cast them exposed to the Resentment of their Country, to take its own Reparation.

A Traytor is separated from the Mass of Mankind: And as he has no Accomplices, but all are Equals in that Crime, no one can excel him in Iniquity, but he who is his Judge, and remits it.

N^o. 16. Friday, September 2.

Looking over the List of the *Parricides*, I was at a Loss in what Degree of Guilt to lay a certain Lord, who makes no small Figure in the Report; and there, as well as every where else, exceeds the Part for which Nature seems to have made him. I will not take the Liberty to name him, and am confident he will be easily known from the General Fame which he bears in the World, and the Consent which his intimate Acquaintance will give to what shall be said of him in my Representation. This Noble Gentleman had an Ancestor, whom a certain Nation, which was said to be conquered by the *Normans*, thought fit to cut shorter by half a Foot, for a certain meddling Temper he was guilty of, in showing great Capacity to turn Things from their ordinary Course, and with much Dexterity transgressing against all the honest Laws which plain Men had laid down for the Good and Happiness of Society, and yet at the same Time standing safe in spite of those Laws he attempted to destroy, provided the said Laws were not strained in his Case. I say this Noble Lord had an Ancestor of very fine Parts, who took upon him to do what he pleased, and still act according to Law; for which Reason, his Contemporaries thought it not only Convenient, but Just, to Cut off his Head: An Head so wrongly and dangerously turned, heaped

heaped up upon it self a great deal of Guilt; but it was very careful that this Guilt should not be what is termed Capital; but the duller Brains of those Times, which did not understand managing in those Cases, took it, that if a Man should endeavour to bring about what was prohibited by a Law, having at the same Time in his View, a Care of evading that restraining Law, such his Art would be an Aggravation, not an Excuse, or Extenuation of his Guilt. Those heavy Fellows were, as usually all stupid ones are, Self interested, and thought it concerned them mightily to bring this ingenious Gentleman to the Block: This Case passes among some of refined Understanding, as a most unwarrantable Proceeding; and his fine Parts, and great Qualities, now his Personal Infirmities are forgotten, live in greater Reputation than they would have done otherwise, from the Pity which rises from his disastrous End. The Faults of a dead Man are very feebly remembred, and his Virtues very strongly; to which principally it is owing, that the Ancestor of one of the *Parricides* is had in so great Veneration, as that his Descendant has been inspired with an Ambition to imitate his Character. But having an Inclination to incur his Guilt, without Ability to carry on his Design, he ran into the odious, without the agreeable Part of his Character, and commenced Statesman, nay, Conspirator, upon no other Pretence but that of his Pedigree.

Avarice, Pride, and Arrogance, were Particularities in our Worthy's Character, in which he could transcend the Copy that he imitated; and these Instigations easily prompted him to exercise, without

the least Colour or Varnish, what his Ancestor could palliate with seeming Virtue, and defend with true Eloquence.

It happens sometimes, that Men of higher Talents than ordinary, are hurried away by Ambition to unwarrantable Proceedings, from a Vanity to shew their Great Abilities: But it was never till in our Days known, that dull Fellows have aimed at the Vices of the more able, to the Hazard of their Neck, in the Endeavour to be greater Engines of Mischief than they were framed for. Our Noble Lord appears to have been a very Honest Gentleman, that once upon a Time had sent very plain and regular Accounts of Business, and lay Wind-bound on the Shore of *Holland*. In this Condition his Lordship had Leisure from Ceremony and Vanity to reflect, that there must be certainly a great deal of Mischief doing, in which he was likely to be defrauded of his Share; and therefore writes a Letter to a Secretary of State, to desire he might not be so treated, but let into the Secret; for he was prepared for all *Hazard*, and would not be *Whimsical*, provided he might be trusted. Trusted he is, and upon his humble Petition to be a R——, he is admitted into the Conclave. Tho' he is a very pert, and a very haughty Animal by Nature, he becomes supple to a Degree of Servility, by which Means he is initiated into the Ways of Infamy, with the Distinction of a Blue Ribbon; from which Elevation he is to do supererogatory Wickedness, and attempt on all Occasions more than he is called to.

It might have pleased his Lordship to have acted his own infamous Part with as much Treachery

Treachery to his Country, and as much Zeal for her Enemy, as he had pleased; but he needed not have made it his Business to ensnare other Men. He was not obliged to take Pains with the General, to bring him to act for the Service of *France*. He might have betrayed the Allies, without accusing them of Treachery.

It is not possible to imagine a more melancholy, or more ridiculous Scene, than such an Engine of Cruelty in the Shape of a Man, putting a Nation to the Torture, in order to bring it to Terms, and never declaring what those Terms are. Such Wickedness could not be committed but by a Fool, and yet is it what a Man of Sense could not have been wrought upon to have transacted. The greatest Misfortunes which have ever happened to this, or any other Nation, have been occasioned by those who have either had no Sense of Honour, or have had a wrong Sense of it. Pomp and Title, in the Opinion of this Nobleman, are Glory and Reputation; the Liveries of his Pages, and the Height of his Heydukes, are with him essential Parts of Grandeur: And when a Man has such a coarse Idea of Greatness, it is no wonder that Fraud may with him pass for Art, and Cheat for Address. The Proposal of making Prince *Eugene* Guilty of a Crime committed against Prince *Eugene*, is a Stratagem that has something of the Knave, and the opposite Character to it blended together; and is a Sample of that consummate Impudence in Evil, which was first brought to Perfection under the Cultivation of the *Particides*. Let us behold the Representation of it in the Report.

“ This March of Prince *Eugene* Lord S——
 “ thought might be turn’d upon them, and he pre-
 “ vailed with the Duke of *Ormond* in a Message to
 “ Prince *Eugene* to say his Marching without Con-
 “ cert with us, and all the Queen’s Auxiliaries
 “ marching from us, expos’d us so, that we have
 “ been oblig’d to send to the *French* to declare with
 “ us a Cessation of Arms; nothing less could put
 “ the Queen’s Troops in Safety. For though Mat-
 “ ters fell out so pat, without this we must have
 “ declar’d for the Cessation, yet why should we
 “ not turn all this Matter upon them ?

“ The Committee had not thought it worth
 “ their while to take Notice of such an idle At-
 “ tempt to impose upon the Senses of Mankind, if
 “ they had not been induc’d by another Passage in
 “ the same Letter to think it deserv’d some Obser-
 “ vation, where Lord S—— giving an Account
 “ of what pass’d upon the Separation, says, All the
 “ *English* seem’d rejoyc’d to march off, being
 “ weary of the Situation they were in, and the Re-
 “ proaches they met with in the great Army: There
 “ are two or three Faces very sour, they sigh and
 “ wish the *Hanoverians* had not separated from us,
 “ but I shall tell them perhaps it may be better.
 “ He may see by this Time the wrong Advice he
 “ has followed, since all must lay the Blame of the
 “ Separation upon him.

It was intended by the *English* to separate from
 the Allies, but a necessary Motion of the Allies
 made it literally a Separation of the Allies from
 the *English*; this crafty Lord thought this an ad-
 mirable Expedient to turn all the Guilt upon the
 Confederates. Two Taylors agreed upon certain
 Penalties to go together from *London* to *Brentford*,
 and

and this was to be between Nine and Twelve of the Clock; they set out together, but one gave out before he reached the Town, and claimed the Penalty from his Comrade for entering *Brentford* without him, whereas they were to have gone thither together. Such desperate Politicians as these might well put the World in Confusion, and the World may well remain in Confusion to know what to do with them; for sure it is off its Hinges, when Folly is ennobled by Vice; when Rakes shall leave breaking Windows to disturb States; when Pedants shall leave searching Editions, to offend against Statutes; when Drolls shall quit practical Jest to lay Schemes of Empire; and Coxcombs shall no longer be ridiculous for Errors and Vanities, but terrible for High Crimes and Misdemeanors.

N^o. 17. *Monday, September 5.*

I Think the Reflections in the following Letter very Just, and therefore give them to the Publick.

To the Englishman.

S I R,

I have read all your Papers with Attention,
 " and highly approve your Design in exposing to the Indignation of their Country, the
 " Persons concerned in the late Injuries done
 " to

“ to this Nation. But, methinks, it would be
“ of great Consequence to look back, and con-
“ sider how they could prepare the rest of Man-
“ kind to receive them at all as Men of Busi-
“ ness; or, when they were so received, how they
“ could preserve any sort of Respect or Authority,
“ during a continued Series of Actions, to the Dis-
“ advantage of *Great Britain*. It would be useful
“ to look a little more distinctly into their Conduct,
“ with a View to these Preparatory Impressions
“ upon the People, which made every Thing pass
“ in the gross, and diverted Mankind from making
“ Examinations which the Ministers knew their
“ Actions could not bear.

“ Whoever will give himself Time to consider,
“ will soon find that they had the *Populace*, (I
“ mean by the *Populace*, all People who do not
“ think for themselves) prejudiced in their Fa-
“ vour, from the two strongest Motives imagina-
“ ble, the Regard to their Interest, and the Re-
“ gard to their Salvation. It was so managed,
“ that in their Property, and in their Religion,
“ the Crowd thought themselves insecure, except
“ under the late Ministers, who frequently com-
“ mitted Follies which would have ruined them,
“ had it not been a received Notion, that if they
“ were displaced, Enemies to the Civil and Re-
“ ligious Rights of the Subject would come into
“ Power. The specious and popular Names given
“ out for comprehending the most likely to be en-
“ snared by General Descriptions, were the Land-
“ ed Interest, and the Church Party. The Landed
“ Interest was principally to confine the Power
“ and Property of the Subject, to the Owners of
“ the Soil of *England*; and to exclude Dealers in
“ Trade;

“ Trade; and the Church-Party, was a Distinction
 “ which made the Dissenters of our own Kingdom,
 “ and all the Protestants of other Nations unaccep-
 “ table, nay, as much to be avoided, as those pro-
 “ fessed Foes to the *English* Establishment, the
 “ *Roman-Catholics*. These Denominations effe-
 “ ctually drew in all who did not govern themselves
 “ by their own Conceptions. The Chieftains and
 “ Leaders of the unthinking World, are Country
 “ Squires, that understand nothing but barely their
 “ own Affairs, and Country Parsons who never
 “ study’d their own Religion. I presume to assert,
 “ that such as these are the most powerful among
 “ the ordinary Rank of Men, and cannot fail of
 “ carrying with them the Affections of their Fol-
 “ lowers, till they are awakened by some extraordi-
 “ nary Incidents, such as of late have happened to
 “ the Detection of the *Parricides*; and we see even
 “ in Cases of this sort, how slowly and unwillingly
 “ they receive any Thing to the Disadvantage of
 “ those whom they have been long taught to ad-
 “ mire, and support implicitly.

“ The Aversion which the late Demagogues ex-
 “ pressed to Trade, was not owing to their being
 “ themselves more engaged as Landed Men, than
 “ as Traders, but to the Knowledge that Com-
 “ merce enlarged the Minds of Men, and the
 “ Transaction of various Business, with Men of
 “ different Characters and Nations, makes Men in-
 “ quisitive, and consequently less ductile. Young
 “ Gentlemen possessed of Land, usually take up a
 “ Way of Life, in which they are at the Top at
 “ once, and pass their Days in a Succession and
 “ Repetition of the same Delights and Amusements,
 “ in which they are gratified by all about them,

“ and seldom meet with any Thing that contra-
 “ dicts either their Fancy or their Judgment.
 “ Thus they are to their Lives End, only more
 “ what they were, when they first left their Stu-
 “ dies, and do not pass from one way of thinking
 “ to another, or alter their Ideas of Things, from
 “ Reflection and Experience, as all other Men must
 “ necessarily do, as the Reason of Things obliges
 “ them. Hence it is, that you do not see any new
 “ Scheme take Place by little and little, from Man
 “ to Man, but they come over from one Thing to
 “ another in the Lump. Men who are together
 “ from their Passions, follow each other by the
 “ Heap, while those who fall into the same Rank
 “ from Consent in Opinion, are obliged to wait
 “ the slow Degrees of Conviction. Men who do
 “ not act by Reason, take a Leader, as Sheep jump
 “ after the Bell-Weather: The late Ministry knew
 “ these Leaders very well, and applied to them,
 “ as I said, on the two most important Topicks,
 “ their greatest Interest in both Worlds. And who
 “ should a Ministry chuse to make their Court to,
 “ for insinuating their Sense of Things to the People
 “ on these Subjects, but to their Landlord, and
 “ their Parish Priest.

“ These two Gentlemen (whom Old *Walsing-*
 “ *ham*, for his Mistress's Service, always took
 “ Care should think well of him) are naturally in
 “ Possession of the Affections of the People, and
 “ it was imposing on them which Gained those,
 “ whom you well call the *Parricides*, such an irre-
 “ sistible Interest, as to be able at the same Time,
 “ in the Sight of all reasonable Men, to be Con-
 “ spirators and Traytors, and in that of the People,
 “ Confessors and Patriots.

“ Sad

"Sad Experience has taught Us, what vile Pur-
 "poses great Numbers of the unthinking Gentry,
 "and prejudiced Clergymen, can be brought to
 "serve. If ever a Nation could have been said to
 "be divided against it self; it was when an Incer-
 "diary received a gentle Sentence from the Su-
 "preme Court of Judicature of these Realms, and
 "had the Insolence and Ingratitude to interpret
 "the Lenity of his Judges to their Fear, and assume
 "an Air of Triumph upon his Condemnation.
 "This strong Circumstance ought to be a Warning
 "to all *Englishmen*, not to think any Thing Sacred
 "but Truth and Virtue. Nothing less than the
 "Highest Services done to a Nation, and the most
 "exact Probity could have Guarded the True Ser-
 "vants of the Crown and Nation, against being
 "sacrificed by the People at that Time. And it is
 "an amazing Instance of Providence, that tho'
 "the Passions of the Multitude were so highly In-
 "flamed, they were still amused with loose and ge-
 "neral Suggestions, and never worked to a Point,
 "to the loss of any one Life of those who had de-
 "served well of them. How shamefully we have
 "been abused by Senseless Notions of the Landed
 "Interests, to the Loss of our Trade, and our
 "Credit; and by graceless Impositions concerning
 "the Danger of the Church, to the Disadvantage
 "of Learning, Piety and Charity, it is to be
 "hoped we may now reflect upon in Safety.
 "If Industry in Trade be not encouraged, but
 "the Merchant, who is the greatest Benefactor of
 "the *English* Nation, is looked upon with Con-
 "tempt, and with Enmity, Lands will soon be
 "unenanted, or of little Worth; and if Know-
 "ledge, good Life, Charity, and Subjection to the
 "Laws

“ Laws of their Country, are not the distinguishing
 “ Characters of Churchmen, the Church will soon
 “ be over-run with Ignorance and Prejudice.

“ But some Ecclesiasticks are more inclined to
 “ maintain a separate Independency in their own
 “ Rights and Privileges, than to promote the Inter-
 “ est of Religion and Virtue in their Fellow-
 “ Subjects. The fatal Influence such a Turn in our
 “ Pastors has had upon our Affairs, is too fresh
 “ to need Repetition, and nothing can prevent the
 “ Return of such Evils, but our placing Respect
 “ where it is due, and valuing Clergymen for
 “ having, besides the Virtues of their Character,
 “ such Qualities as we should like in Laymen.
 “ The Men who act with a View of promoting the
 “ Interest of their Country, and the good of Civil
 “ Society, and scorn to impose upon their Fellow-
 “ Subjects any Doctrines to the Prejudice or Weak-
 “ ning of our Laws, ought to be the Favourites of
 “ all True *Englishmen*.

“ Very late Experience may teach Us, that no-
 “ thing can be more Dangerous to Us, than the
 “ Notion of different Interests of Church and
 “ State. It would be ridiculous to suppose a Na-
 “ tion could subsist in Liberty and Property, any
 “ longer than the Church and State are under-
 “ stood and taken as two Relations of the same
 “ Society, and not as two Divisions or Denomina-
 “ tions of Men among Us. One would think
 “ there needed no more than that the Scriptures
 “ are in *English*, to convince all Men of common
 “ Sense, that it is Imposture and Impudence to
 “ pretend any Superiority to the Laws of any
 “ Country, from being the Dispensers of the Gos-
 “ pel: The Gospel which has no one Thing so of-

“ ten

“ ten inculcated in its Precepts, as the being ab-
 “ stracted from all the Interests of this World. We
 “ may hope then, that this Prepossession is well
 “ enough understood, and that the next Time Men
 “ attempt to betray their Country, they will be
 “ obliged to some other Pretext than the Concern
 “ of Religion. We have many bright Examples of
 “ Virtue and Piety among Clergymen, who may
 “ inspire the growing Age with worthier Senti-
 “ ments, and not dishonour the Name of Heaven
 “ and Religion, in receiving Men as Patrons of
 “ the Church, for no other Merit but consulting
 “ their own Greatness, by adding to Her Pomp.

“ I beg of you, Sir, to give us a Paper in Ho-
 “ nour of those Clergymen who have appeared
 “ *Englishmen*; and take it for a Truth, that while
 “ People are afraid to distinguish the Good from
 “ the Bad, Rage and Prejudice will still make
 “ part of the Eloquence of the Pulpit, and Riot
 “ and Rebellion be the Inclination even of some
 “ of the Well-meaning among the People. I am,
 “ Sir, with great Respect, to the Honesty of your
 “ Writings,

Your very much Obliged,

And most Humble Servant,

PHILANGLUS.

Fridday,

N^o 18. Friday, September 9.

IT is the common Topick in Defence of the late Ministry, to run into a Recital of the great Vertues and Perfections of her late Majesty; but there cannot be an higher Strain of Impudence, either in the *Parricides*, or any of their Friends, than the Mention of that illustrious Lady with Terms of Respect. The Commendation of her by any of them, is, as if a Man tryed for a Murther, should pretend to atone for his Crime, by praising the Mein, the Air, the Features, the Complexion of that Body which he had destroyed. Was the Queen Pious? it was the greater Injury to use her Authority to lessen the Interest of true Religion. Was the Queen Just? it was the more abominable to break all publick Faith, and the Rules of common Honesty in the Dispensation of her Power. Was the Queen Merciful? it was the more barbarous to apply the same Authority of hers, which animated a Nation to take up Arms for their Liberty, to intimidate them, and deliver them into Bondage and Oppression. *Lastly*, Was the Queen a Lover of her Country? it was the more infamous to give up any Advantage she had obtained for her People.

But let us not give Hints only of this Kind, but go on to shew plain Instances from the Report, that she was abused by every Man of any Consequence in her Service.

If you please to peruse that excellent Epistle of Treasurer *Harley*, wherein he sometimes speaks as a Penitent, confessing his Sins in the first Person, sometimes as an Historian, recounting the Actions of a Great Minister, then as a Flatterer, and then a Petitioner, I say, from the Perusal of this remarkable Letter, you will learn, “ That on
“ the 4th of *June*, 1711, three Days after the
“ Treasurer was sworn, he was surpriz’d with a
“ Demand of twenty eight thousand thirty six
“ Pounds and five Shillings, for Arms and Merchandize, said to be sent to *Canada*. When
“ the Treasurer scrupled this, Mr. Secretary
“ *St. John*, and Mr. *Moor*, came to him with
“ much Passion upon this Affair; and about a
“ Fortnight after, the Secretary of State signified
“ the Queen’s positive Pleasure to have that Money paid; and accordingly her Majesty sign’d a
“ Warrant, *June* 21, and the Treasurer not being
“ able then, with all his Precaution, to discover
“ further Light, the Money was paid *July* the 4th
“ 1711.

“ Since the Return from that Expedition, the
“ Secret is discover’d, and the Treasurer’s Suspicion justified; for the Publick was cheated of
“ above twenty thousand Pounds.

“ There is Reason to be more particular upon
“ this Head, because it is one of the Things never
“ to be forgiven the Treasurer; and Lord Chancellor told him more to that Purpose, that they
“ told him no Government was worth serving,
“ that would let them make those Advan-
“ tages, and get such Jobbs.

“ One Thing more is crav’d Leave to be added,
“ That the Treasurer was forc’d to use all his Skill
“ and

“ and Credit, to keep the House of Commons
 “ from examining this Affair last Parliament.

This Great Minister had such a profound Respect for the Queen, that he saw her cheated, and made it a Merit to her, that he hid the false Dealing both from her and her Parliament.

Her Chancellor affixes the Great Seal to three Explanatory Articles, which gave away all the Good, which the Peace of *Spain*, such as it was, could have possibly been interpreted to have intended for *England*.

Another Minister of *Great-Britain*, who, in the Report in Words at length, is called *Lexington*, tells the King of *Spain* in a Memorial, “ That the
 “ Queen orders him to represent, that she has no-
 “ thing more at Heart, than to obtain for those
 “ People the same Privileges they formerly enjoy’d,
 “ which she thinks her self oblig’d to do, by the
 “ two strongest Motives that are possible, *viz.* Ho-
 “ nour and Conscience, that she may not leave a
 “ Nation, which the Misfortune of War obliged
 “ her to draw into her Interest, in a worse Con-
 “ dition than she found them. She hopes, that
 “ after all the Pains she has taken, for procu-
 “ ring a solid and lasting Peace to *Europe*, Your
 “ Majesty will not leave her with the Grief of lia-
 “ ving been the Occasion of the Loss of the Privi-
 “ leges of that People; but rather, that in Regard to
 “ the strict Friendship, which with God’s Blessing, is
 “ so near being establish’d between both Your Ma-
 “ jesties, as well as the Union so necessary to the
 “ Interests of both Nations, Your Majesty will not
 “ make any Difficulty any longer to grant this Fa-
 “ vour to her Majesty, which she has so much at
 “ Heart.

In

In Consequence of these Obligations of Honour and Conscience upon his Mistress, he writes a Letter in Concert with the King of *Spain*, advising the *Catalans* to submit themselves; and tho' writing in this wicked Concert, uses the Expression, *That God had not permitted him to do more than he had done.* To make the Treachery consummate, a Duplicate of this Letter is sent to one of the *Spanish* Generals before the Town, to get it conveyed, as without his Privity, by a Defenter.

It would be repeating what has been frequently intimated, that Lord *Bolingbroke* makes no Difficulty of informing the *French* how to act in Matters wherein the Queen cannot make open Steps, and advises to let her be *Passive*, where she cannot be *Active*.

Wishart, another who to be sure has the same Regard to the Memory and Honour of Her late Majesty, lies at Sea to attend and carry on the Tragedy upon the *Barcelonians*, and beseeches, for Her further Honour, a Means may be found to make the *Spanish* Court add to his Wages.

As the Sovereign naturally personates the Dominions which he commands, every Man in those Dominions ought to think himself injured in his Sovereign: Who can then with Patience hear any Man, who was concerned in these infamous Negotiations, pretend to cover himself, by professing Respect to the Name of the Queen. When this Matter is rightly considered, they cannot name Her, but to their own Infamy and Confusion. She was Good, Why then did you betray Her? She designed the Good of Mankind. How then can you say you obeyed Her in destroying them?

But

But this Generation of Men cango on after Conviction. The Proof of their Crimes is only a legal, not a conscientious Conviction. They know they have no Remorse in themselves, and they see their Crimes overlooked, from the false Prejudices which they have insinuated into others.

The *Regicides* of *Charles* the First might as well commend the Fortitude and Piety of that Prince, as any one of the Persons accused in the Report pretend to celebrate *Queen Anne*.

In any Nation but ours, it would be thought an odd Plea to say, As to all the publick Money and Debts of the Nation, I can tell you I have paid them, and don't doubt but you will all believe me, for the Queen was an excellent Woman. Wherever the Great Seal is affixed, it will make a good Peace, tho' it is put on to lessen the Advantages of it; for there never was a Better Woman than she who gave me that Seal. This Sword I will conquer *France* with, but it is too precious to take out of the Scabbard, it was given me by a very Fine Lady. In a word, we can commit no Fault, for our Mistress was very Good; and Good People, since you see us all in Her Livery, the worst you can make of any Thing you can say we have done, is Breach of Trust, and that is an Extenuation of our Crimes; for as we said before, she is certainly a very Good Woman.

Monday,

N^o.

N^o.

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N^o. 19. *Monday, September, 12.*

THE Nation has done it self Justice on the Person of one of the *Parricides*, and the Time is lapsed wherein *Henry Viscount Bolingbroke* was to have answered to the Crimes laid to his Charge. It is not possible to omit repeating on this Occasion, that this Iniquity was carryed on without preserving the least Appearances, and the Malefactors hardly had so much Respect for us, as to *deceive us*. It was visible, while they were doing it, that they were giving up their Queen and their Country; and the plain Course of their Actions tended to destroy that Establishment to which they were Servants and Ministers, and to introduce another Settlement. This is, without Railing, the plain Matter of Fact; nor is it to be imagined that a Gentleman, Master of so great Estate in Possession, and Heir to so considerable Reversions, should take the Course this Lord did, but from a wanton Ambition to command all under a Power which he was to be an Instrument in introducing. This giddy young Man preferred his pompous Share in an Empire, of which he was to have the Merit of one of the Founders, or Architects, to the honest and sober Provision of a private Man of Quality and Fortune, within the Rules of Law and Reason and Justice. The Imaginations of Mankind have of late Years been perverted to such an extravagant Degree, that the Sense of Shame and Glory has not had

had their Natural Effects upon the Minds of People of Condition. They have been supported in shameful Actions by their Impudence; and Prosperity and Impunity under the vilest Crimes, have composed a State of Reputation.

We had Speeches from the Throne, consonant to the Obligations under which the Nation stood to other Potentates; and in the very Instant wherein those honest Declarations were made, both from the Queen's own Mouth, and by her Order ratified by her Ministers, the quite contrary was pursued in the Eye of all the World. The impudent and vile Wretches, who have the Hardiness to speak honourably of a Lady they have thus abused, apparently made their Mistress contribute to their Villanies, while she thought she was defending her People, and her Allies.

It is not possible for the wisest Prince that ever lived, to carry in their Thoughts the whole Series of Business to which they give their Assent, and their Hand. For this Reason it is, that in the greater Instruments which the Sovereign executes, it is said in a little Label, or whatever they call it, By this your Majesty does so and so, which makes the proper Officer responsible for the Action of the Prince. But these Men acted by imperfect Authorities, and led the Queen by partial Notices of what she transacted; and all this, with a fulsome unmanly prostituted Adulation of her Wisdom and her Power. They made her act without knowing what she did, such was their Respect to her Wisdom; and they made her, from the highest Pitch of Power, an unsuccessful Supplicant to *France* and *Spain*, in Behalf of her Allies the *Dutch* and the *Catalans*, such was their Respect to her Power.

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I do sincerely believe their Debates about the conspicuous Part each of them contended for, in the betraying of her and her People, and her too late Conviction, that they had brought her from a State of Glory, to what I will not name, hastened her End. And yet do these Profligates, when their Behaviour in their several Stations is censured, pretend to suffer for their Respect to her. If Power has any Thing Great in it, abstracted from the Application of it, and merely as it is Power, they are very Great Men, and brought down to the Ground the most Just, the most Humane, the most Reasonable Glory that ever shined before the Eyes of Mankind.

How openly and unreservedly this was done, may appear from the Substance of the Articles of Impeachment against the Viscount *Bolingbroke*, which, as far as we can learn from Fame, is to the following Purpose. The Impeached Lord is again the good Rake *Harry St. John* at *Paris*, and having done nothing but destroyed his Country, is again at Leisure, without Sense of Shame or Honour, to be a fine Gentleman in the Abyss of Sensuality, as long as the Squire's Constitution, and want of Reflection, will give him Leave.

The Substance of the Articles of Impeachment against the Lord Bolingbroke.

THE Preamble recites the several Treaties concluded between the Potentates in Alliance against *France*, wherein, among other Things, it is agreed, That it shall not be permitted to any of the Parties to treat of Peace, or come to a Cessation of Arms, unless joynly, and by common Consent. And that when the *French* King made Propositions of Peace
to

to Her late Majesty, she was pleased to communicate them to the States, with Her Sentiments concerning them: and at the same Time by Her Secretary of State, the Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke*, gave their High Mightinesses the most solemn Assurances, that in making Peace, as in making War, she would act in perfect Concert with them; which Assurances of mutual Confidence were returned by them to Her Majesty; notwithstanding all which

Article I.

“ **H**E the said Viscount, conspiring with the E-
 “ missaries of *France* to dissolve the Alliance,
 “ and enable the *French* King to effect the De-
 “ struction of the Liberties of *Europe*, contrived
 “ the setting on Foot a Separate and Dishonourable
 “ Negotiation; and advised Her Majesty to send
 “ Mr. *Prior* to *France* in a clandestine Manner to
 “ make Propositions of Peace, in which Propositi-
 “ ons the particular Interest of *Britain*, as well as
 “ the common Interest of *Europe*, were betrayed;
 “ and in which it was an exprefs Article, That the
 “ Secret should be inviolably kept, tho’ the *French*
 “ King had offered to treat with *England* and *Hol-*
 “ *land* alone, or jointly with the rest of the Allies,
 “ at the choice of *England*; by which Means he
 “ procured a Treaty more advantageous to *France*
 “ than *France* it self had asked, and put it into
 “ the Power of the Enemy to create incurable
 “ Jealousies between the Queen and Her Allies.

II.

“ The said Viscount did unlawfully, and with-
 “ out Authority, meet and confer with Mr. *Mef-*
 “ *nager* on the Negotiations of Peace between
 “ *Great-Britain* and *France*, in which he advised
 “ the making a Separate Treaty, or Convention,
 “ between the Two Crowns; and afterwards pre-
 “ vailed with Her Majesty to sign Powers to several
 “ Persons for concluding the said Convention,
 “ which was concluded and signed by *Mesnager* on
 “ the Part of *France*, and by the Earl of *Dart-*
 “ *mouth*, and himself, on the Part of the Queen.
 “ In this Treaty the Interests of *Britain* are given
 “ up to *France*, and the Duke of *Anjou* admitted
 “ to remain King of *Spain*.

III.

“ The said Viscount, contrary to his Allegiance,
 “ and the Laws of this Realm, did, during the
 “ War, traiterously communicate to the Sieur
 “ *Mesnager* the Queen's Instructions to Her Am-
 “ bassador the Earl of *Strafford*, and gave Advice
 “ of his having done so by Letter to the Marquis
 “ *de Torcy*.

IV.

“ The said Viscount, contrary to his Allegiance,
 “ and the Laws of this Realm, did, during the
 “ War, traiterously communicate to the Abbot
 “ *Gualtier* the Queen's final Instructions to Her
 “ Plenipo-

“ Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, and gave Advice of
 “ his having done so by Letter to Mr. *de Torcy*.

V.
 “ Notwithstanding the *French* King had signifi-
 “ ed his Consent, That *Tournay* should remain to
 “ the *States*, and Her Majesty had ordered Her
 “ Plenipotentiaries to insist upon it, and had de-
 “ clared Her Self conformably in Her Speech to
 “ Her Parliament; the said Viscount, contrary to
 “ his Allegiance, and the Laws of this Realm, did,
 “ during the War, traiterously advise the Enemy
 “ by what Methods the said Town and Fortrefs
 “ of *Tournay*, then in Possession of the *States-
 “ General*, might be gained from them to the
 “ *French* King.

VI.

“ The said Viscount, contrary to his Allegiance,
 “ and the Laws of this Realm, and the Treaties
 “ Her Majesty stood engaged in for the Recovery of
 “ the Monarchy of *Spain* to the House of *Austria*,
 “ did, at several Times in the Years 1710, 1711,
 “ and 1712, traiterously concert with the Queen’s
 “ Enemies, the yielding up *Spain* and the *West-
 “ Indies*, or some Part thereof, to the Duke of *An-
 “ jou*, then in Enmity with Her Majesty.

Friday,

N^o. 20. *Friday, September 16.*

IT is not to be doubted, but that all Negotiations between States in Hostility, must take their Rise from some private Overture made from one Party to the other; and when the Case happens, that a single Potentate has to do with an Alliance of several Powers, it is natural that this single State will apply to one Prince rather than another, who is more powerful, or more accessible than the rest, to begin a Treaty. Nay, it must be confessed also, that it cannot well be but there must be some Encouragement given by the Party first applied to of the Allies, before it can be understood whether a Proposal is worthy to be communicated to the rest of the Confederates. But when a Prince takes the Lead in these Cases, he is not thereby at Liberty to go into separate Treaties, and make Advantages to himself, at the Expence of his Friends. But on several Occasions of this kind, private Advantages have been thought the best Extenuation of any Artificial Step made by the Ministry of a Nation, for the Interest of that Nation of which they were Servants; but certain it is, that there is no Excuse in the Law of Nations, or of Nature, or of Reason, for any Falshood; but it is a yet greater Iniquity to leave Confederates, when Men do even their own Nation not only no Good, but the highest Injury.

The Treaty for the late Peace, is represented in the Report as follows.

“ The Summary then of this whole Proceeding
 “ at *Utrecht*, in one short View, appears to be this;
 “ A Congress for general Conferences was necessary
 “ to be open’d, that the Allies might in Appearance,
 “ agreeable to the Grand Alliance, have the
 “ Opportunity of treating and adjusting their several Pretensions.

“ Our Ministers were by their Instructions, to
 “ act in Concert with the Allies; but they really
 “ acted in Concert with the *French* Plenipotentiaries.

“ The Allies giving in their Specifick Demands
 “ was not to be avoided; but the *French* were to
 “ gain as much Time as they possibly could, by
 “ unnecessary Delays; and at last insist upon such a
 “ Method of answering these Demands, as they
 “ knew the Allies could not comply with. In the
 “ mean Time, the Negotiations were carrying on
 “ directly between *England* and *France*, or rather
 “ all the Conditions dictated and prescrib’d by
 “ *France*, whilst the Allies were amus’d with a
 “ Dispute about the Method of answering, from
 “ which *France* would not, and they could not possibly depart;
 “ in which *England* agreed with the rest of the Allies.
 “ All Particulars that concern’d even the Interest of the Allies, were transacted betwixt the Ministers of *England* and *France*,
 “ under the highest Obligations of Secrecy: The *Dutch* are press’d to come into the
 “ Queen’s

“ Queen’s Measures, without being acquainted
 “ what the Queen’s Measures were; and because
 “ they would not consent to they knew not what, as
 “ soon as it was resolv’d to send Orders to the
 “ Duke of *Ormond* not to engage in either Siege
 “ or Battel, and the great Projects were ready to
 “ be executed on the other Side of the Water; the
 “ Queen declares she looks upon her self now from
 “ their Conduct, to be under no Obligation what-
 “ soever to the *States-General*: And thus the Al-
 “ liance betwixt *Great-Britain* and her principal
 “ Ally, is declared to be dissolv’d and cancell’d be-
 “ fore any thing was finally agreed and concluded
 “ betwixt us and *France*; or we had the least Se-
 “ curity for our own Trade and Commerce, or any
 “ other Advantages that were to accrue to *Great-*
 “ *Britain*.

There needs no Comment upon this Representa-
 tion, nor can there be a greater Infamy, than to ap-
 pear to have entered into such a Conspiracy, as is
 here described. As the Commons of *England* have
 given their Country this Report, they have pro-
 ceeded to impeach the Principal Agents in it, and
 according to what can be collected, from frequently
 hearing the general Tenor of the Articles against
 the Earl of *S——d*, they are in Substance as
 follows.

*The Substance of the Articles of Impeachment
 against the Earl of Strafford.*

THE Preamble recites the Conditions of the
 Grand-Alliance, and of the several Treaties be-
 tween her late Majesty and the Confederates, the

constant Tenor of which is, That no Peace shall be treated, no Truce or Cessation of Arms agreed to, but by the common Consent of all Parties; and that they shall not lay down their Arms, while any Prince of the House of *Bourbon* continues in *Spain*: It takes notice of the Addresses of both Houses of Parliament to her Majesty, advising her not to make Peace with *France*, till the whole *Spanish* Monarchy be recovered to the House of *Austria*, and of the Instructions given to the Earl of *Strafford*, her Ambassador Extraordinary to the *States-General*, directing him to insist on the Restitution of the *Spanish* Monarchy; and to assure the *States* of her Majesty's Resolution to act in Concert with them; and to make no Peace without their Concurrence. Notwithstanding all which Considerations,

Article I.

HE, the said *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*, her Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary to the *States*, and her Plenipotentiary at *Utrecht*, contrary to his Duty, and the true Ends of his Commission, did not only presume to advise, That the private Negotiation, which was entered into between the Ministers of *Great-Britain* and *France*, should be continued, but did himself frequently concert separate Measures with the *French* Ministers, to impose upon her Majesty's Subjects and Allies, and was instrumental in promoting the said separate Negotiation.

And farther, he, the said Earl, when the *French* Ministers refused to answer in Writing, and on other Occasions proceeded unjustifiably, did not only

ly neglect to represent to her Majesty against the same, and to support the Allies in their reasonable Demands, but acted in Concert with the *French*, as appears by his Letters, wherein he commends their Measures, in the Spirit of a Friend, as proper and prudent; and the said Earl, even suggested Methods for *France* to make use of, to create Dissentions among the Allies, and dissolve the Confederacy.

By which treacherous Practices, he prostituted the Honour of the Crown, and grossly violated his Powers and Instructions, as well as the many Treaties her Majesty stood engaged in to her Allies, and the repeated Assurances he himself had given, by her Majesty's Order to the said Allies, to act in Concert with them.

II.

He, the said Earl, in his Letters from *Holland* to the Ministers in *Great-Britain*, by false Representations, and indecent Reflections upon his present Majesty, then Elector of *Hanover*, did endeavour to create fatal Misunderstandings between her Majesty and his said Electoral Highness.

And when the Generals of the Auxiliaries refused to withdraw with the Duke of *Ormond*, he wickedly suggested in a Letter to the Secretary of State, That that Separation ought to be imputed to his Electoral Highness.

And farther, the said Earl, by affirming notorious Untruths to the Ministers of the Elector, and particularly by declaring to Mr. *Bulau* his General, That the Queen had made no Truce with *France*; prostituted and dishonoured the Character with which he was invested; and, as far as in him lay, dissolved the mutual Confidence between her Majesty and the House of *Hanover*. G 3 III. Not-

III.

Notwithstanding the House of Lords by an Address expressed their Indignation at the French King's Treatment of her Majesty, by refusing to acknowledge her Title till the Peace should be made, and also their Resentment at the Terms of Peace offered to her Majesty and her Allies, for which her Majesty returned them her Thanks; the said Earl privately concerted with the French Ministers, that the said Terms should be the Conditions upon which *France* would agree to treat of a Peace with *Great-Britain*.

Nay farther, the said Earl, upon the Receipt of a Letter from Mr. St. John, agreed with the Ministers of *France*, that they should write a collusive Letter to him and the Bishop of *Bristol*, styling her Majesty Queen of *Great-Britain*; which Letter was not to be made use of at *Utrecht*, or taken as an Acknowledgment by *France* of her Majesty's Title to the Crown, but was to be transmitted to *Great-Britain*; and accordingly was transmitted, to deceive and impose upon her Majesty, and the Parliament.

By this Means, the Queen, the Parliament, and the whole Nation were most grossly and scandalously abused, and drawn into those destructive Measures of Peace, to the Dishonour of the Kingdom, and apparent Danger of the Protestant Succession.

IV.

The said Earl, tho' directed by his Instructions to insist, that *Spain* and the *Indies* should not be allotted

allotted to any Branch of the House of *Bourbon*, not only presumed to treat with the Ministers of *France* without insisting on that Condition; but also, when the *Imperial* and *Portuguese* Ministers made the same Demand, and requested him to join with them, to strengthen that Demand, declined to do it.

By which perfidious Practices, incurable Jealousies were created between the Queen and her Allies, the Balance of Power in *Europe* was wickedly betrayed, and an Opportunity given to *France* to impose what Terms of Peace she should think fit.

V.

At the Time when the Confederate Army was the strongest that had been known, during the Course of the War, and when there was the greatest Prospect of gaining new Conquests, the said Earl, on divers false and groundless Suggestions, advised that the Queen should make a Cessation of Arms with *France*, without, and against the Consent of her Allies.

In pursuance of which, Directions were sent to the Duke of *Ormond*, to avoid engaging either in Siege or Battel.

And further, he advised the Queen to send him from *England* to the Army in *Flanders*, to cause the said Cessation to be proclaimed, which was accordingly performed by his Advice and Direction.

By these perfidious Councils and Practices, the Progress of the Victorious Arms of the Confederates was stopped, the most favourable Opportunity for conquering the Enemy lost, all Hopes of future Confidence between her Majesty and her Allies en-

tirely destroyed, and the *French* King made absolute Master of the Negotiations of Peace.

VI.

The said Earl, in order to distress the *States*, and bring them under a Necessity of submitting to the Measures of *France*, formed a Project for the taking Possession of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, which was put in Execution, under the Pretence of the Queen's Troops being denied Passage through some of the fortified Towns belonging to the *States*; whereby the Communication between *Holland* and the Confederate Army was cut off, the greatest Advantage given to the *French*, and the Allies deterred from prosecuting any Design they might have formed against the common Enemy.

No. 21. Monday, September 19.

IT is monstrous to hear some who pretend to Understanding, say, That what appears against the *Parricides* is but presumptive; and in Cases wherein Honour and Life are concerned, we cannot be too cautious how we act. But if they would take the least Pains to observe what passes every Day in the ordinary Course of Justice, they would find that there is very seldom a Criminal goes to his Fate, from one Year's end to another, who is not sent to Execution only upon presumptive Evidence. It is certainly the Business of a Man, who meditates

meditates the Commission of a Crime, to project how he shall do it with Impunity; and it seldom happens that there is any greater Proof, that a Fact which must forfeit a Man's Life, was done by any particular Man, but from such Circumstances as must convince Men of the same Quality or Condition in Life with the Criminal, that he, and no other, or he, with others, perpetrated such a Wickedness.

In the Violation of Chastity, the Oath of the Person injured, with concurrent Circumstances, will take away the Life of the Criminal. Clippers have been Condemned, upon Proof only that proper Tools for that Work, and Filings of Gold and Silver, have been found in their Custody. And I remember to have been at the *Old Baily*, and to have seen a Fellow found Guilty of a Robbery, upon Proof only that he was at such a Time at such an House, and had greater Sums of Money soon after, than he could give any satisfactory Account how he could be Master of, wherein were such and such remarkable Pieces of current Coin, which were said to have been Part of the Sum stolen, tho' there are ten thousand the like in the World.

No one doubted but the Man had committed the Robbery, and since no one doubted it, there was no one doubted but that he ought to be hanged for it.

But there is a modern Case of a private Man which, I think, is exactly parallel to that of *Great-Britain* it self: The Case I mean is of Mr. *Longford*, the Lawyer, and his Clerk.

This Scribe of his, knowing that his Master brought into his Chambers (for this Matter happened in the *Temple*) a very considerable Sum of Money,

Money, considered how to get this by Industry; and the readiest Way, as he thought, was to kill his Master in his Sleep, and so take the Bag away with him. Accordingly he came to his Bedside, and with a Penknife, I cannot justly say how many Inches long, gave him a Stab, which, instead of dispatching, awaked him. He lays hold upon the Russian, and, calling the very Rascal who was covering him with Wounds to his Assistance, by an incredible Strength and Courage wrested the Weapon out of the Murderer's Hands, who left him bleeding, and made his Escape: Mr. Longford is no more Dead, than *Toarnay* is taken, or the Pretender is now in *England*, but his Secretary was hanged for this Fact. I know no Reason why the Learned found the poor Clerk guilty of killing a Man, who is yet living, but that it was done in *Chambers*; and it is the Degeneracy of Mankind, to have a stricter Regard to what comes more immediately home to themselves, than to the general Cause of Society.

A Simile need not, they say, be like in all its Parts; but the Attempt made upon a Man, by one who ought rather to have come to his Assistance, the Circumstance of lying within his Chambers, and therefore more capable of assaulting him, and consequently the greater his Guilt in doing it, and the Man assaulted having in his Power the Assailant, are Points that run parallel with the Relations between this Kingdom and the *Parricides*.

I will not give way to Indignation, but fill this Paper with the Substance of what has been exhibited against the only One of the Conspirators, that ever was thought a Man of Honour. A Satyrical Writer has this Expression, which he puts into the Mouth

Mouth of a profligate Woman, I don't remember that I ever was a Maid. All in the Conspiracy, except this unhappy Man, the Substance of whose Accusation I am going to recite, may say this of their Honesty. Their abler Men have been from their Youth up trained in Principles and Sentiments destructive of our Religion or our Liberty. It is to be hoped we shall see Death, Disgrace, Poverty, and publick Scorn befall the rest of the Conspirators before our Eyes, as he whose Crimes we are repeating suffers at Distance, and in Exile.

As I speak in the Character of *Englishman*, I think I speak according to the Genius of my Country, in expressing different Sentiments of the Offender who fled from Her injured Face, and of those who with the same Guilt stand their Ground, with no hopes but from her Degeneracy and Corruption.

*The Substance of the Articles of Impeachment
against the Duke of Ormond.*

Article I.

WHereas *James Duke of Ormond* was General of her Majesty's Forces in the *Netherlands*, and had Orders to prosecute the War with Vigour, in Conjunction with the Allies, and had given the said Allies the most solemn Assurances to that Purpose: He, the said Duke, contrary to his Allegiance, and the Laws of this Realm, did, during the War, traiterously send private Intelligence to the *Mareschal Villars*, of a March the Confederate Army was then going to make, and of the Design of the said Army in making that March.

II. Whereas

Whereas a traiterous Design was carried on between Mr. St. John, and the Ministers of France, to defeat the just Expectations of the Advantages the Nation had Reason to hope for, from the great Superiority of the Confederate Forces; and whereas this Design being suspected, alarmed the Allies and the Parliament: He, the said Duke, in order to conceal the said traiterous Design, wrote two Letters of the same Date to Mr. St. John, the one a publick Letter to be read before her Majesty and her Council, declaring he would take the first Opportunity to bring the Enemy to a Battel; the other a private Letter, to be read only to the Conspirators, wherein he promised and engaged, neither to attack the *French* Army, nor to engage in any Siege.

III.

He, the said Duke, in Violation of the Queen's Instructions to him, and of the Declarations he had made to the Pensionary of *Holland*, and the Confederate Generals, and of the last Orders sent him by Mr. St. John, and in pursuance of a wicked Promise he had made to the Marechal *Villars*, contrary to his Allegiance, and the Laws of this Realm, did, during the War, traiterously advise, and endeavour to perswade the Confederate Generals, and the Deputies of the *States*, to raise the Siege of *Quesnoy*, and did further traiterously refuse to act any longer against *France*, and declared he could no longer cover the Siege, but was obliged

obliged by his Instructions to march off with the Queen's Troops, and those in her Majesty's Pay. And, in further Execution of his traiterous Designs, the said Duke sent Intelligence to M. *Villars* of the forementioned Passages, and of the Disposition he observed in the Foreign Troops to adhere to the Confederates, in case of a Separation by the Troops of *Great-Britain*.

IV.
He, the said Duke, did not only falsely declare to the Confederate Generals, and the States Deputies, that his Refusal to act against *France*, was in Pursuance of his Instructions; but also, in order to prevail with them to abandon the Siege of *Quefnoy*, did wickedly represent their Compliance therein, as the most effectual Means to induce her Majesty to take Care of their Interest in the Peace: Whereby he did in effect threaten her Majesty's good Friends and Allies, that unless they would dishonourably abandon an Enterprize undertaken by common Consent, and thereby preserve a strong Fortrefs, and a numerous Garrison to the Enemy, they were not to expect any Regard would be had to their Interests.

V.

He, the said Duke, upon the Request of the Mareschal *Villars*, contrary to his Allegiance, and the Laws of this Realm, did traiterously send the said Mareschal Intelligence of the Number of Troops that had left the Confederate Army, and of

of the March the said Confederate Army had that Morning made. And in further Execution of his treacherous Design, the said Duke Intelligence to M. St. John, wherein he wickedly advised her Majesty to betray the said Design to the French King, and suggested the Means of doing it, by giving private Intelligence to the Marshal Villars.

No. 22. *Friday, September 23.*

HAVING received the following Letter from an Elder Author than my self, I shall give Place to him, and make what he writes the Business of the Day.

To the Englishman.

S I R,

AS I was sitting alone the other Evening, and revolving in my Mind the present Posture of Affairs, I cast my Eye upon a Pamphlet, which was sent me by the *Penny-Post* some time ago, entituled, *A Letter to Richard Steele, Esq;* for the Publisher and Printer of which, there were Rewards offered in the *Gazette*. I enclose it

" it to you; you will find it a treasonable Design
 " to frustrate all that has been done since the Re-
 " volution, and make Way for the Pretender.
 " There is now, it seems, a Standard set up in
 " *Scotland* in the Name of that Outlaw; and I
 " thought fit, as I have devoted my self, and all
 " the Capacities I am ever able to exert my self
 " in, to the Service of my King and Country, to
 " take Notice of this Pamphlet by your Means.
 " I have long sacrificed with Pleasure what little
 " Reputation and Good Will I had gotten in the
 " World in Writings of Diversion and assumed
 " Characters, to make it a Vehicle to convey to
 " the People what I thought for the publick Ser-
 " vice; and, I hope, I shall be excused, that when
 " I see it is made a Pass for the Forces of the Ene-
 " my, that I recall it, especially now it is dignify'd
 " with Knighthood, to the only Use for which its
 " being so publick is a Pleasure to me. Let me de-
 " sire you, therefore, to Print the following short
 " Case, which, I think, answers the Argument in
 " the Pamphlet, grounded upon an asserted Illega-
 " lity in the Revolution, from whence he arraigns
 " the King's Title. It will be an irreverend
 " Presumption, to call this an Argument for the
 " K——g's Title; but desire you will let it go as
 " far as your Paper will convey it, with this In-
 " scription,

The present Case of the British Subject Considered
by Sir Richard Steele.

T H E End of Government is the Preservation
 and Happiness of the Society which is go-
 verned.

As

As this is the confessed End of all Laws, and all Civil Institutions, so is it, in the Nature of the Thing, superior to them all. For being the End which is aimed at in the very original Formation of all Society, it must of Necessity be superior to all particular Constitutions whatsoever.

To say, therefore, that the Nature of Government requires an absolute Submission in the whole governed Society, even to a Degree of total Ruin, when that shall seem fit to the governing Part, is just as if it should, with great Gravity, be affirmed, That the Nature of Government requires, that the very End for which only it was instituted, should be frustrated, and wholly destroyed. Yet this is the common Argument which leads to this monstrous Absurdity, That the Nature of Government requires the Destruction of it self, and of its main End.

It is as if it should be said, That the Nature of a Guardianship requires, that the Children, for whose Good it was settled, must, without Limitation, submit, should a Guardian sell them to the Slavery of the Gallies: That is to say, That the Nature of it requires, the Destruction of the very End for which it was instituted.

As a Guardian hath no Right to Submission in Cases of Ruin, so have Governors no Right to what contradicts and destroys the very End and Nature of their Office. And as this holds good in Guardians, whether constituted by the Parents themselves over their Children, or chosen by the Children themselves; so doth it hold good of Governors, whether instituted by God originally, or chosen and appointed by Men. The End is the same;

same; and the Nature of the Thing cannot require any thing destructive of the End of it. The last Resort in Government (which is the great Word that casts a Cloud before Men's Eyes) is the Supreme Decision of Causes; and doth necessarily imply in it a Right to be submitted to, in all such Cases and Laws, as are consistent with the Ends of Government, to wit, the general Good of the Community, even tho' private Persons suffer Wrong by such Decisions. The Reason is plain, Because the publick Good requires this Submission, without which it would not be a Duty. But to extend this last Resort of Government to Cases of publick and total Ruin, is monstrous at first Sight; because the End of Government abhors such a last Resort, and the other is allowed wholly as it is required by the publick Good, by which Rule every Thing relating to Government is to be determined.

It was upon this Foundation, what pass'd at the *Revolution* was necessary and lawful, and the Folly and Cowardice of palliating a Just Action as if it were a Crime, has been a Principal Cause of all the Misfortunes which have since happen'd to these Nations. The Tyranny and Oppression of *James* the II^d and VIth, King of *England* and *Scotland*, moved the Heroick Prince of *Orange* to come into this Realm, upon an Invitation from the Chief of these Nations, with an Armed Force to rescue it from Popery and Arbitrary Power. King *James* fled before him, and took Sanctuary in *France*, which gave the *English* Nation Opportunity to say he Abdicated, and the *Scotch* to go farther, and say, frankly and openly, he forfeited his Throne.

Now,

Now, Sir, I say, that whether the above reasonable Sense of Government, and the Basis of it, be the Principle of my Reader or not, or whether it were just or unjust to maintain, that King *James* Abdicated or Forfeited it, is now the same Thing with the present *Britons*: And I assert, that admitting, but not granting, that the *Revolution* had its Beginning in Force, in Violence, in Injustice, or in Rebellion, it is to us the same Thing; and I take upon me, even admitting this, to prove two Things:

First, That the People of *Great Britain* are at this Day indissolubly obliged to defend and obey King *GEORGE*.

Secondly, That King *GEORGE* has, humanly speaking, a better Title to the Throne of *Great Britain*, than any Prince in any Country, in any Age, ever had, since the Creation of the World to this Hour.

First, Then, as to our indispensable Obedience, and Obligation to support the King.

It is an undeniable Maxim, that every Man is obliged to pay Duty and Allegiance to that Government from which he receives Protection.

It is as certain, that it is lawful for a private Man to act under a Government into which he was born, and take Service under it, without being obliged to enquire into the first Foundation or Establishment of that Government. Without this be allowed, it is impossible there can be any such thing as a Basis of Society, and if it is allowed, the People of *England* are tyed down to the present Establishment, even tho' their Forefathers had laid it in Violence and Rebellion.

It is about seven and twenty Years ago, since this Crown was settled upon King *William* and

Queen

Queen Mary: All who were at that Time under Age, were out of the Guilt or Vertue of that Transaction, and consequently when they came to Manhood, received it a Lawful and Free Government. It was neither in their Power, nor ought to have been in their Inclination, to disturb it; they came innocently into Possession of it, however Guilty their Fathers gave it up or settled it. Dividing this Nation into Ten Parts, Nine of them are under the *Revolution*; they are the Children of Liberty and Property; they have it honestly, however their Fathers purchased or transmitted it: And the other Ninth Part, if so many remain, who knew another Establishment, may take up Arms if they please, or if they think they did a Criminal Thing in promoting the *Revolution*, let them repent, or expiate their Crimes by themselves; we, who had nothing to do with that Transaction, are on this Side of Time, and are wholly Innocent. But we cannot be so, except we obviate the Designs of our Enemies, who would with our Blood wash away their Guilt, with our Properties advance their own Ambition.

I think this as clear as any Mathematical Demonstration, That all Men under forty Years of Age, are Subjects of the *Revolution*; and cannot by the Laws of God or Man, pay Obedience to, or give Assistance to any other Power but the Legal Descendants of that *Revolution*; and when this is thus stated and considered, How invincible is King *GEORGE*? How inconsiderable his Opponents? Add to this, that the eight Parts have Law and Justice on their Side, with Youth, and Strength, and Vigour: The two remaining Parts are in old Age, and they and their
Adhe-

Adherents, Rebels and Traitors. I have said this, admitting, not granting, that the *Revolution* was unjustifiable; and proceed in the second Place to prove, the King has a better Title than any Sovereign (not immediately named by God himself) before him in any Age or Country ever had.

The Title of King *William* was subject to the Cavils and seeming Objections of his coming with an Armed Force, and driving the Prince away who was said to have Abdicated, and left a Throne Vacant, which that Prince received from the remaining States of the Nation after that Dereliction.

But as to the Accession of King *GEORGE*, if we consider there are no Methods in Nature whereby Men can Originally obtain Power, but by Force or Art, or free Gift of the People, it will be confessed Force and Art of those who become Governors, have less Right than the Choice of the Governed. It is not less plain, that his Majesty's Predecessor the Duke of *Normandy*, became King of this Realm, by employing both Violence and Artifice: From which Duke, is derived all the Right whatsoever it is, that can be pretended to, by way of Descent, to this Crown: And the very Enemies of the *Revolution* will allow, that the Line of Descent was less forcibly set aside in the Case of the Prince of *Orange*, than the Kingdom itself was obtained in the Case of the Duke of *Normandy*. In both Cases, the Legislature, in which all Things are virtually existing, coming into the new Establishment, made the Allegiance of the Subject born under it, Necessary, Lawful and Meritorious; Disobedience to it, Wilful, Illegal, and Traiterous.

The

The Persons who had nothing to do in the *Re-
volution*, but were born, or came to Manhood,
(for the Day a Man becomes One and Twenty,
is his Birth-Day as to Considerations of this kind)
I say all who were born under the *Revolution*, or
became of Age since that Time, are as much bound
by the Laws made under it, as the Subjects were
before by the Laws made since the Conquest, with-
out enquiring into the Title of *William* the Con-
queror.

The Government took a Legal, Regular Turn, and
recognized in the Time of *William* the Deliverer,
the Laws which were in Force, or were Enacted in
and from the Time of *William* the Conqueror.

In the Time of King *William*, the Succession of
the Crown was given, by the whole Legislature, to
the Princess *Sophia*, and her right Heirs, being
Protestants, after the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*,
and Heirs of her Body. The Princess *Anne* of *Den-
mark*, after being postpon'd by the Settlement on
King *William* for Life, after her eldest Sister,
his Consort, ascends the Throne, as Successor to
King *William*, by the Acts of Parliament in that
behalf made; This Great and Glorious Queen (of
whom, and her Acts, so many, that have no regard
to King *William*, or King *GEORGE*, pretend
to speak with Acknowledgment and Respect) had
but this Title; and she, whom all pretend to avow,
in full Parliament confirmed the Succession on Prin-
cess *Sophia*, and her Heirs.

Upon the Demise of Queen *Anne*, King *GEORGE*,
the eldest Son of Princess *Sophia*, is come to the
Crown: He has taken the proper Oaths, with re-
gard to Protection of us, and we have done Ho-
mage, and taken the Oaths of Allegiance to him.

Now

Now by all this it appears, that a Prince, in a distant Country, for no other Reason but their own Safety and Happiness, without Force, Artifice, or, for what appears, Privity to what they were doing, was, by the Legislature of a Kingdom, put into the Succession to the Crown of it. This just, equitable, innocent, natural and indisputable Title takes place; the Prince and the People take the mutual Oaths of Allegiance and Protection: And this Title is now controverted, By whom? By those who have submitted to a less perfect Title, conferred by the same Powers which conferred this. King *William's* Title was partly his own Act; and his Arms and his Policy being employ'd in arriving at it, make the Glorious Work liable to Misinterpretations and Exceptions: But King *GEORGE* had no part in the Transaction which led him to the Throne, but accepts of an offered Crown, for the Safety of Nations, which consulted their own Interest only in calling him to it.

The whole History of Man cannot produce an Instance of a Title so agreeable to the Laws of Nature and of Reason: And the Dissatisfactions of this People can never end, if they cannot be tyed by their own Act: Nor is it in the Wit of Man to find out where Power over Men can rest, if not in those on whom, without the Application of those on whom they bestow it, it was conferred by their own Choice for their own Interest. I did not, I am confident, raise an Expectation beyond what I have here represented, in saying this was a Title better than any other since the Creation. Nor do I doubt but that when Men thoroughly consider that there is not a Man in *England* who has not, in himself

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or

or by his Representative, contributed to, and submitted to this Title, the due Comparison will be made between a Rightful, Just and Good Prince on the Throne, by our own Acts, our own Votes, and our own Wishes; and a Pretender who has no Relation to us but from his Crimes; but from his being an Impostor, an Outlaw, and an Invader.

I am, Unknown S. I. R.,

With more Affection, than I fear I ought,

Your Servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

N^o 23. *Monday, September 26.*

I Cannot but recapitulate, in a word or two, the Argument I published on *Friday* last.

All the Measures of Submission and Ordinances of Government, are to be esteemed lawful, or unlawful, according to the Rule of the general Good, and utter Ruin of the People governed. According to this Rule, the *Revolution* was necessary, justifiable and laudable: But whether it were so or not, nine Parts in ten of these Kingdoms, to wit, all Persons who were born under it, or came to Age under it, all Persons under Forty eight Years of Age, are necessarily and innocently its Subjects, and bound to defend

send it. I say, admitting, not granting, that the *Revolution* was unlawful; Persons born under it, who were not in that Guilt, are innocently possessed of the good Effects of it; and, by all Laws Divine and Human, authoriz'd and oblig'd to defend themselves in that their Possession. All Human Power must be acquired by Force, Art, or Gift of the People. The two first are less agreeable to Reason and Justice, than the third Method. There is no Right to the Crown by Descent, which can be pretended to in these Realms, but what must be deduced from that Prince who is called *the Conqueror*. This Right, by Means less violent than those used by *William the Conqueror*, was set aside by *William the Deliverer*.

Those born under the Establishment made by *the Deliverer*, are as little concern'd to enquire into the Legality or Justice, whereby the Kingdom was so settled, as those were who were born between the Conquest and this Deliverance.

The Accession of *William* the Third is liable to Misinterpretation, as he came with an armed Force, and, for that Reason, may be said to have driven out his Predecessor; and there was, according to those who do not think *King James* forfeited his Dominions, a Mixture of Violence and Art in the Acquisition: But the present Sovereign, and People of *Great Britain*, are equally out of all this Question.

Our Predecessors, *King William* and his Parliament, settled the Throne of *England* upon the said *King William* and his Consort, and the Heirs of their Bodies; in failure of such, to the King for his Life: After that, to the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*, and the Heirs of her Body.

After

After the Death of her only Child, the said King *William*, and his Parliament, limit the Succession to the Princess *Sophia*, and her Heirs, being Protestants, in case the Princess of *Denmark* shall dye without Issue.

Upon the Demise of the said *William*, the Third, the Princess of *Denmark* comes to the Crown, and confirms and repeats the Act which limited the Crown to the Princess *Sophia*, and her Heirs, being Protestants.

The said Sovereign Lady, Queen *Anne*, departs this Life, and the Princess *Sophia* being then dead, our present Sovereign Lord, (whom God of his infinite Mercy long preserve) came to a Throne, given to him not immediately, but after the Princess his Mother, by a People for their own Preservation, without his Force, his Skill, or, for ought we know, his mere Privity.

Never was the Relation of Prince and People, since the Beginning of the World, settled upon so fair, so equitable, a Principle of Justice and Reason. If a Man were to sit down and form to his Imagination an unexceptionable Title, he could not draw it more effectually, than that it should so happen, that all who had done Wrong and Violence, or had been reputed to have done Wrong and Violence in the Methods of placing a certain People in the Possession of Liberty and Property, should be gone down to their Graves; and these People so possessed, should resolve, for the ending all Possibility of Debate for the future, to put into the Entail of their Crown, a Prince fam'd for Justice, who liv'd at a Distance from them, and without his Knowledge or Application, give it to him, and his Heirs for ever. This is done, and to make it

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appear

appear still more remote and disinterested, this Act shall not take Place, 'till the Person on whom it is in the first Instance settled, shall have departed this Life, and yet a Person elder than the Possessor of the Crown, when the Entail was made, shall come into it.

With all these Circumstances, Particularities, and Requisites, which one would think were to be imagined only, and could not be expected to meet in real Life, our Gracious Sovereign is arrived at the Throne of *Great Britain*, which Title none can think to molest, but Men whose Consciences are so monstrously turned, as to prompt them to swear to a Prince, in order to find Means to destroy him, and abjure a Pretender, in order to introduce him.

These Gentlemen I shall speak to another Time, but will not at present defer my Acknowledgments to the Friends of *England* in the following Letter.

The Englishman to the Duke of Orleans.

S I R,

IT is from *England* only a Man can write, and not with himself a Subject where your Highness is the Sovereign. But as no Praise can be unsuspected of Flattery to Princes, but that of Foreigners to their Dominions, you will, I hope, pardon this Liberty, from one who writes the Sense of all his Countrymen, that deserve to be such, in acknowledging your noble and generous Behaviour to them, and all Mankind, since your Accession to the Regency of *France*.

“ As the Interests of all the Human Race are
 “ dear to those who have a just and elevated Sense
 “ of the Dignity and Freedom of their Species,
 “ your Highness's Advancement, who are so well
 “ qualify'd to dispose of the Fate and Fortune of
 “ those below you, gives Joy to all beyond the Li-
 “ mits of your Dominions. And as they are not
 “ out of the Reach of your Benefactions, it is but
 “ just that they make you their Acknowledgments,
 “ tho' in an unknown Language; for the *French*
 “ Tongue is not yet so Universal, as to extend it
 “ self as far, as to be spoken wherever you are
 “ commended.

“ Every new Account from *France*, brings us
 “ new Cause of congratulating your Power; and
 “ *France*, by your Highness's Example in every
 “ thing that is Great and Good, may be the Pat-
 “ tern for improving our Minds, as She has long
 “ been for the adorning our Persons.

“ By your Highness's Favour, Knowledge and
 “ Piety take Place of Ignorance and Superstition;
 “ Pomp and Vanity vanish at the Presence of
 “ Greatness and Glory. To be as skilled in
 “ the Lower, tho' Liberal Arts, as those who
 “ have no Merit but that Skill, and a Master
 “ of the Art of Government, with a Power to
 “ distribute Favour and Fortune according to your
 “ Judgment of that Merit, is a Greatness as
 “ much above that of your Predecessor, as the
 “ Being of an Angel is above that of a Phan-
 “ tome: The one can terrify, but the other can
 “ bless.

“ From your Highness's Favour, the Church
 “ of *France* is to receive the Knowledge of
 “ Heaven; from you, the Air, the Light, the
 “ Earth,

Earth, and the Waters, every common Gift of Nature, administer new Delight, and they are possessed by Beings that dare worship the Bestower of them, in the Transport of their Souls, according to the Dictates of their Reason. The Enquirer into the Will of Heaven, shall not be intimidated or blanded by him, who only pretends to disclose it; nor shall He, who delights to be searched after, and is never to be wholly understood, be intercepted from faithful Worshipers, by the Tyranny of an Impostor, who would hide standing Errors by professed Infalibility.

When the Love of his Country is the Means to the Courtier's Greatness, when Merit to the rest of the World, is the only Pretence to your Approbation, Virtue grows in Countenance, and publick Spirit is made the Way to private Advantage. While your Highness produces obscure or distressed Abilities, you act the Vicegerent of Heaven, in the Office of Regent to the King; Folly and Vice are disarmed of Impudence, and Wisdom and Virtue receive Assurance from seeing themselves in the Seat of Empire; and a Throne adorned with those Excellencies which were envied by Royalty in a private Condition.

Your Highness's Conduct, in frustrating the Invasion of your Friends and Neighbours, expresses to all the World the Sublimity of your Genius, and your Knowledge of true Greatness, which dictates that Justice, is the Foundation of Policy, and Candour, the Noblest Art of Life. While the Slave holds up his Hands to Heaven without Shackles for him who gave him Freedom;

dom; while the Merchant is secure in his Fortune, without Terror of Oppression and Rapine; while the whole Body of the French Subjects feel the Effects of your Administration, your Neighbours rejoice in a Prince that protects his own People by obliging his Allies. It is not to be easily said, which Nation owes you greater Thanks, France or Britain: You Remove Calamities from France, you prevent the Approach of them to Britain.

As your Highness has too much Policy to despise the Designs of the meanest Enemy, so have you too much Generosity to be unaffected with the kind Wishes of the humblest Friend; you will, therefore, with the Resentment of a Princely Heart, go on in those Actions, which give you, from your Vertue, an Authority, which could not be obtained by your Power, to wit, the Concurrence and Esteem of all the Men of Merit over the Face of the whole Earth; which, as none but a Prince of your Qualifications can taste as the utmost Greatness, so can it fall only on one thus disposed.

I sincerely wish your Highness the Continuance of this great Felicity; and, with a Name much more famed for Sincerity, than Elegance, in his Professions, subscribe myself,

Sr,

Your most Obligated and

most Obedient Servant,

The Englishman.

No. 24. *Friday, September 30.**A Letter to the Englishman.*

SIR,

" SINCE you have given the Publick the
 " "Notions of Government on one Side,
 " and published what seemed to you most Reason-
 " able on that important Subject; I think it will
 " be but fair in you, to let the World know what
 " we have to say for our selves, who entertain
 " altogether different Sentiments, in this Re-
 " spect.

" A very Great Man has lately discovered from
 " indisputable Authority, if others, as well as we
 " who are his Followers, could see it there, such
 " a Foundation for Government, as puts this Mat-
 " ter quite out of Dispute.

" You must know, Sir, we laugh at your idle
 " Notions of publick Good, the Preservation of
 " the Society, and the like; and pretend to have
 " more sublime Sentiments of Things. In a word,
 " we utterly disavow that weak Principle of yours,
 " that Mankind was not made for Kings, but
 " Kings for Mankind; and more nobly suppose the
 " whole Human Race as designed only to be In-
 " struments of Glory to one Man, who may de-
 " stroy them at Pleasure, Slavery being the End of
 " their Creation. These are the generous Princi-
 " ples

“ ples we maintain, flowing from our great Love
 “ to Mankind, and sincere Desire to promote the
 “ Happiness of our Fellow-Creatures. We have
 “ very surprizing Things to tell you, nor would
 “ you think you could sufficiently admire the
 “ Depth of these Discoveries, if you were once sa-
 “ tisfied of the Truth of them.

“ There was once upon a Time, as we learned
 “ Men, who have enquired into Antiquity, affirm,
 “ an Universal Monarch, called King *Adam*, who,
 “ with his Royal Consort *Eve*, kept his Court in
 “ Paradise. This Great Sovereign was absolute
 “ and uncontrollable, and his Authority was
 “ neither to be forfeited nor resisted. We can
 “ produce you a very antient and esteemed Histo-
 “ rian, in Confirmation of these Assertions; tho’ I
 “ must own, some who have read that Author very
 “ carefully, pretend to assert, he has not said one
 “ Word of all this. But to proceed, *Adam* we
 “ say, was a King only in Consequence of his be-
 “ ing a Father; so that the Regal Power did not
 “ commence till the Birth of *Cain*, First Prince of
 “ the Blood, and Heir apparent; that is, *Adam*
 “ began his Reign on his Son’s Birth-Day. What
 “ Attendants the Queen had, or what were the
 “ Number of her Maids of Honour, these, we con-
 “ fess, are Circumstances in which History is silent;
 “ we are only sure, if there were any such, they
 “ were Naked.

“ After the Demise of King *Adam*, to the great
 “ Grief of all his Subjects, King *Seth* succeeds to
 “ the Monarchy; for it looks as if some Exception
 “ had been taken against Prince *Cain*, only for
 “ knocking his Brother on the Head, and that was
 “ the Reason of his being disinherited. I would

not, have mentioned this Particular, but that it seems very *a propos*, to prove Hereditary Right. From Princely *Seth*, was derived a Succession of Monarchs, who all came regularly to the Crown by Primogeniture; and this Succession was preserved entire and uninterrupted, till the Flood.

After the Flood, King *Noah* succeeded in the absolute universal Monarchy, and was vested with all the Powers and Privileges, which were enjoyed by his Royal Predecessors, the Antediluvian Kings. This Prince had one of the ablest Ministries in the World; the vast Design of building *Babel* was concerted in his Privy Council, an Edict was issued for that Purpose, tho' it must be confess'd, it is very material, that there is no Notice taken of that Edict in History. He had three Sons, *viz.* their Highnesses, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*.

As *Adam* was the first, so *Noah* was the last Universal Monarch: For in his Time, the Scheme of Government was altered, and Seventy Independent Monarchies were Erected, over each of which was placed a Prince, descended from the three Imperial Brothers, a Grandson of *Noah*. Now, Sir, according to this Account, some have thought it very probable, that *Noah* Abdicated, since it is agreed he lived two Hundred and Fifty Years after this Settlement. Their Highnesses too lived a considerable Time after the New Establishment, and consequently, say they, must be excluded from the Government of any of the Seventy Nations. I will not enter into the Discussion of such nice Criticisms, but I must confess, I have been the more exact in mentioning

"tioning these Circumstances, because they are
 "produced by some among us, as making strong-
 "ly for Unalienable Undefeasible Hereditary
 "Right.

"This is the Account we give of this Matter;
 "this is the Scheme we propose to make Good, and
 "defy you to confute.

"But as there are Men who will cavil at every-
 "thing, so nothing is so perfect as not to be liable
 "to trifling Objections; even this Scheme, as much
 "Care as has been taken clearly to deduce the pre-
 "ceding Propositions, has met with this Fate:
 "For instance; there are those who pretend to
 "assert, that *Beleg*, *Abnodad*, and the rest of *Jok-*
 "*ton's* Sons, to the Number of Thirteen, who
 "are said to have been appointed by God to
 "Rule over the Seventy Kingdoms, were not
 "alive at that Time, that is, not born. If this
 "were true, it would be a very unlucky Circum-
 "stance for this part of our Scheme. I shall not
 "give my self the trouble to mention any more of
 "the Objections that are commonly made, because
 "the whole System, as you plainly see, carries
 "with it that exquisite Air of Probability, that
 "no Man who hears it can be in any Doubt
 "about it.

"To return; Agreeable to this Account, no
 "Prince has a Right to Reign in any Nation but
 "by Virtue of Primogeniture in a Lineal Descend-
 "from *Adam*: So far we are safe. The next is,
 "How we shall find this Descendant of *Adam*;
 "here lies all the Difficulty. I assure you, I have
 "made the strictest Enquiry among the Genealo-
 "gists of all Nations, and could not till of late
 "find any one Countrey that pretended to so much

“ Regularity in their Annals, as to say he was
 “ amongst them. But I have at last found a Peo-
 “ ple, who one and all allow, He is within their
 “ Territories, but which Family of *Wales* He is in,
 “ the Bards of that well descended Dominion still
 “ disagree, and their greatest Antiquary has at pre-
 “ sent some private Affairs that rob us of his Assi-
 “ stance in this Enquiry.

“ I am sensible there are Scepticks in the World,
 “ who will not believe that any such thing as the
 “ Scheme I have been speaking of has ever been
 “ maintained; but I can assure these worthy Per-
 “ sons, that hardly any Argument has been hand-
 “ led more voluminously, that numerous Trea-
 “ ties have been written with Success in Defence
 “ of it, and as many with Intention formerly to
 “ Disprove it. And yet after all this, I am afraid
 “ you'll be apt to cavil, and demand of us to prove,
 “ that the Person whose Interests we espouse, has
 “ such a Right of Primogeniture, as is here con-
 “ tended for, and that he is Lineally descended
 “ from *Adam*.

I am,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

Monday

No. 25. Monday, October 3.

IT is by the immediate Interposition of Providence, that this Nation is in a Sea of Blood: We see Designs tending to this, every Day farther brought to Light, but it is not to be hoped that the Favour of Heaven will continue, without we exert in behalf of our selves and our Country; I should have said in behalf of our Country and our selves. The Disposition of Mind, which is called Publick Spirit, should have all the Encouragement imaginable at all Times, and all Seasons, but more especially upon Incidents of Publick Danger and Distress. Good and Generous Servants to Princes, are therefore as Vigilant to produce and reward obscure Merit, as to search for, and punish Secret Wickedness. I shall therefore in this Paper, do the Office of a Spy for the former Purpose, and give all the World an Account of an Action, which had in it the greatest publick Merit imaginable; but tho' it was performed in the City of London, in January last, the other End of the Town, from that wherein it was done, has not yet heard of it. I have received it attested upon Oath; with less Testimony it would be folly to report it, to so ill Natured an Age as we live in; and it is necessary to give as much Evidence, as would take away a Man's Life in a Case wherein he were Criminal, to gain Men's Belief in a Matter wherein he is Meritorious.

The

The Gentleman who acted the Part of which I am going to speak, is entitled to the Favour of all Englishmen: He has done Good to them all in General, as having obliged the Publick; to many of them in particular, as having saved their Fortunes; to many others, as having saved their Lives.

With all this Preparation of my Story, The Hero of this Half-Sheet will come up to the Expectations I have raised of him. You are to know then, that in January last, a Fire broke out in our Theatre-Street, and increasing more and more, catched the neighbouring Houses, and raged to such an irrepressible Degree, that it grew necessary, instead of endeavouring longer to oppose it by Engines for throwing Water, and tearing down with Hands and Combs, the Master in his Way, to blow up the House. It was not yet come any and so by sacrificing some particular Dwellings, preserve with other Places the Custom-House, which of all the World would have been most hurtful to the Publick to be destroyed.

In this Extremity Engineers were sent for: the Person who had the chief Direction on that sudden Occasion, was Mr. Thomas Hughes, a Lieutenant in His Majesty's Train of Artillery. This Gentleman laid several Trains that Night, but at one particular Place he had the greatest Occasion to distinguish himself. To understand with what Hazard to himself he performed what I am going to relate, it will be necessary to explain the manner of blowing up a Mine. It is executed by fixing one End of a Line of Quickmatch, in a Vessel of Gun-Powder, and carrying the other End to a proper

per Distance, at which the Person who gives Fire to it may stand, or run off from with Safety. Quickmatch is Cotton first boiled in Salt-Petre, and prepared for this Use, by soaking it in Salt-Petre, and Spirit of Wine, rolling it in Meal-Powder, and drying it in the Sun. The Length of the Line of Quickmatch, is usually ten Yards, and it is supposed that a Man may run fifteen Yards in that While wherein the Quickmatch being lighted is running its ten Yards. When a Quickmatch is fixed, they beat Drum to give Warning to all Persons to keep off, and then light the Train. A Gunner of the Artillery of the same both Christian and Family-Name, with Lieutenant *Hughes*, for no one had the least Concern in this Matter, who can be named in this Glorious Action, without naming him who had the principal Part in it: I say Gunner *Hughes* fixed a Quickmatch to a Mine, laid by Lieutenant *Hughes* under one of the great Warehouses on the *Custom-House-Key*, the Line of Quickmatch coming some Paces out of the Warehouse. After Notice was given by Drum, the Gunner fired the Train, but no Effect appearing, Lieutenant *Hughes* went up to the Entrance of the Warehouse, and seeing a vast Crowd of People press forward, upon finding nothing passed after the Alarm of the Drum, the Lieutenant ran into the Warehouse, from whence he immediately returned with the Match lighted in his Hand, and after having stood an Instant, with his Hand lifted, as a Man distracted with Thanksgiving and Terror, threw the Match on the Ground, in the Presence of the amazed Multitude whom he had saved.

There

There was the highest Courage exerted in this Action, and that upon the noblest Motive. The Concern for a Crowd which he saw must inevitably perish, was what destroyed all Regard to his own Preservation. The Occasion which prevented the burning of the Match according to its usual Quickness, was, that in the middle of it, in a Part which had been more fingered and closed than the rest, the Fire, tho' still in, was retarded. During that precious Moment, this Heroick Officer ran in, and with his Left-Hand toward the Fire, his Right towards the Mine, tore the Match in two and brought it out.

If this Man is not richer next *January* than he was when he did this, it will not be my Fault; and this is published in the *Englishman*, to do Honour to our Nation at a Time, when Publick Spirit runs so very low. Numbers who were saved by this Gentleman, have not so much as enquired what was his Name; and the Insensibility, even of Men in Authority, has kept it from the Notice of those who have it in their Power to reward the Transcendent Merit of the above-mentioned Mr. *Thomas Hughes*, in whose Behalf I end, not doubting the Concurrence of all my Honest Readers, in the Style of a Petition, that for him who shall contribute to the Advancement of Lieutenant *Thomas Hughes*,

The Publick shall ever Pray, &c.

JAMES WALKER, of the Parish of St. Catherines, in the County of Middlesex, and one of the Gunners in Fee belonging to his Majesty's Office
of

of Ordnance, Deposeth, That in the Month of January last, when the Dreadful Fire was in Thames-street, he, the said James Walker being on the Custom-House-Keys, attending as a Gunner, did see Lieutenant Thomas Hughes fix several Mines, wherein he was in much Danger; but particularly one Mine under a Warehouse on the Custom-House-Keys; from which Mine, he, the said Lieutenant Hughes, had laid a Train of Quickmatch, which reached about Six or Eight Paces without the Door of the said Warehouse upon the Keys, which Train was fired by one Thomas Hughes a Gunner in Fee: And the said Train did burn into the Warehouse, but it stopped, and not coming to the Mine according to Expectation, I saw Lieutenant Hughes advance towards the said Warehouse Door, and I saw him run into the said Warehouse, to the Amazement of the Beholders, and presently he brought out a Piece of Quickmatch alight in his Hand, which he threw upon the Keys. This several saw, and I believe the said Action of the Lieutenant did save some Hundreds of Men's Lives who prest forward, and would not be perswaded to keep back.

Thomas Hughes Gunner in Fee of the same Office, Deposeth, the same as James Walker doth, and further Deposeth, that after some Barrels of Powder were brought into a House joyning to the Custom-House in Thames-street, by Order of Lieutenant Hughes, he the said Lieutenant called to the said Gunner to desire him to keep the Door close to keep the Fire from entering that way, whilst the said Lieutenant fixed the Mine, which he did, and the said Lieutenant stretched the Train, which was a
Piece

Place of Quickmatch to the Door of the House and out into Thames-street, and bid the Gunner fire the Mine; but before the said Gunner could load to fire the Mine, a Spark of Fire fell on the Quickmatch and fired it, so that the Gunner was obliged to run, and narrowly escaped his Life, and the said Mine blew up all close to the Custom-House.

Thomas Hughes.
James Walker.

Jurant Coram Me vi-
cesimo Octavo Sep-
tembris, 1715.

RICHARD STEELE.

No. 26. Friday, October 7.

IT may, perhaps, conduce to the publick Ser-
vice, to put together at this Time, the Argu-
ment of Dr. Hedges, in his excellent Book, called,
A View of the English Constitution. This worthy
Man had been for many Years a Nonjuror, and
could not acknowledge the Government under
the Revolution: By this Means, he was useless in
his Profession, as a Divine; but he did not under
this Doubt and Incapacity, pretend to have any
Com-

Commission to act against the Government, or claim an Independency upon it, but wisely and soberly study'd the Constitution of it, as a Means, if possible, to reconcile himself. He honestly took the Laws of the Land for his Guide in this Matter, and according to the Common Law, as well as the Acts of Parliament of this Kingdom, he grew thoroughly satisfy'd that he was in an Error in refusing the Oaths, and returned to the Exercise of his Duty as a Clergyman. When we say the Common Law, we mean the Common Custom, which, by an uninterrupted Practice and Observance of it, through a long Series of Time, obtains the Force of a Law. Judicial Proceedings, or adjudg'd Cases, as they appear in Records, and the Year Books, are what show and preserve the Common Law. We shall be understood then by every Reader, when we say according to what we have collected out of Mr. *Higden*, that the Allegiance of the *English* Subject by Common Law, is due to the Regnant King.

The Allegiance of the Subject is due by Common Law to the Regnant King, or to the King for the Time being. This is so true, that the People of *England* always submitted, and took Oaths of Fidelity to the thirteen Kings, who from the Conquest, to *Henry* the VIIIth, came to the Throne without Hereditary Titles, as well as to the six Hereditary Kings who reigned in that Period. There were no *Nonjurors* in all those Reigns.

The universal Practice and common Usage of all Orders and Degrees of Men, shews, that this was the Constitution from the Conquest to *Henry* the

the VIIth. No Law has been made since that Time, but that of the Eleventh of Henry VII, which Justifies this Practice, and Enacts the Usage into a Statute of the Realm.

Kings *de Jure*, have always acknowledg'd the Authority of Kings *de Facto*, in as ample a Manner as they have done that of their Progenitors of the most undoubted Right. This is plain, both from the Common Law, and Statute Law of this Realm. See the Year-Books for the one, and the Statute Book for the other.

As the Law makes no Distinction betwixt the Authority of a King *de Jure*, or a King *de Facto*, in the Administration of the Laws, so it puts no Difference betwixt the Death and Dispossession of a King, but supposes both to be a Demise, whether it be the Dispossession of a King *de Facto*, or a King *de Jure*.

By the Demise of a King, his Authority is by Law determin'd, and at an End; the Laws thenceforward Legally administer'd by the Authority of the King in Possession.

It is a Maxim of the Law of England, That the Crown takes away all manner of Defects, and stops in Blood. As this Maxim is decisive for the Authority of the King in Possession, so the Authority of this Maxim it self, is very conspicuous in the Year-Books, where we read that all the Judges of the Realm, when they were solemnly consulted by the King in Parliament, about the Attainder of Henry the VIIth, unanimously delivered it for Law, That the King is a Person able, and discharged from any Attainder *eo facto*; that he takes upon him the Government; and is King; and alledged for a Precedent, Henry the

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the VIth's holding a Parliament in his Re-adoption, notwithstanding he was Attainted, and that eo facto that he assumed the Regal Dignity, and was King, all was void, and there was no need of any Act to reverse his Attainder. It must be observed, that the Judgment of the Judges, especially when Unanimous, as in this Case they were, makes Part of the Common Law of the Realm.

The Legislature of King *de facto*, is not only good at Common Law, but is confirmed by Statute Law: And Kings *de jure*, and their Parliaments, have recited the Laws made by Kings *de Facto*, and their Parliaments, in such a Manner, as acknowledge the Validity of their Laws, and them to be Legislators of equal Authority with themselves, or any of their Progenitors of undoubted Right. There are Instances to be given of Statutes made by Kings *de jure*, in Matters of the greatest Importance to Government, and where the Prerogative has been concerned, that have been afterwards Repealed by Kings *de Facto*, and have stood Repealed ever since: And no Authority less, than that which made, can repeal a Law. Thus the whole Parliament holden the 21st of Richard the II^d, is Repealed the 1st Henry the IVth. Thus the Statute of Richard the II^d, which had multiplied the kinds of Treason, stands Repealed by the 1st of Henry IV.

Instances may even be given of Laws made by Kings *de Facto*, in favour of the Subject, which have afterwards been intrenched on by the Prerogative of a King *de jure*, which Intrenchment hath been declared by a King and Parliament *de jure*, to be against those Laws and Statutes of the Realm.

It

It is easy to give an Historical Account of the Legislative Authority of our Kings, that have Reigned without an Hereditary Title. *William I.* and *Henry I.* were famous Legislators, yet not Hereditary Kings; No more was *Henry the III.* himself, when he granted the Great Charter in the 9th Year of his Reign. To conclude, the Legislative Authority of Kings *de Facto*, has the Prescription of many Ages, has been ever acknowledged in this Realm, through all the Successions of our Kings and Queens, and through all the Revolutions of Government, not only since the *Norman*, but in the *Saxon* Times also.

See the Reversion of the Acts of Attainder of *Richard the III.* These Acts of Attainder subjected the Persons Attainted to the Penalties of High Treason, tho' that Treason was nothing but conspiring, or bearing Arms, against the late King, when in Possession, for the Service of the King, who was now on the Throne; And yet the Judges, who had the Administration of the Laws under the present King, were so far from acquitting them of this Treason, that they declared they were not Legal Persons, and therefore subject to the Penalties of it, till a New Law was made to relieve them. Accordingly in the 1st of *Henry the VIII.* a Pardon was Enacted in Parliament, to Indemnify those who Fought on his Side against *Richard the III.* those who Fought for the King for the Time being wanted no Act of Parliament to Indemnify them, nor had they any.

From the Conquest to *Edward the III.*'s Reign, and for 100 Years after, the Distinction of King *de Facto*, and King *de Jure* was not known, but the Regnant King was the King. There were often

others,

others, that pretended a better Right to the Throne, than the Prince that was in Possession of it, and formed Alliances, and raised Armies to recover it. Thus Robert, the Eldest Brother, set up his Claim, first against *William Rufus*, and afterwards against *Henry I. Matul* against King *Stephen*, *Arthur* against King *John*: But in the meantime they contented themselves with the Titles of Dukes of *Normandy*, &c. None of their Friends gave them the Regal Title, nor did they themselves assume it: No, not the Heirs of the House of *York* some Ages after, against the King in Possession of the Throne and Kingdom, who alone was esteemed the King.

In the Statute of the 11th of *Henry VII.* it is expressly affirmed and declared, *That it is not reasonable, but against all Laws, Reason, and good Conscience, that the Subjects attending upon the King for the time being in his Wars, or being in other Places by his Command, any thing should lose or forfeit*; and the Reason given for this, is because, says the Act, this is *doing their true Duty and Service of Allegiance*.

This Enquiry made this Gentleman return to the Duty of an *Englishman*, and his Book ought to be in every Man's Study who pretends to be so.

Now when we consider that the King, under whom we have now the Happiness to live, came into the Succession to the Throne *Nemine Contradicente*, and also into the Possession of it *Nemine Contradicente*, and that according to our very Laws, if He had come into it through a River of blood, our Allegiance had been due to Him when He had seated Himself in it, and that all Acts in favour

favour of the Possessor are warrantable, even, tho an Enemy should prevail against Him: What is there to be said on this Occasion, but repeating, that He who Fights for the King is sure to be an innocent Man in Case of being overcome; He, who acts against Him, must be a Guilty One even in Case of Success. The King's Friends can never want the Pardon of the Pretender, the Pretender's Followers will want the Concurrence of a Parliament to expiate what they may do against the King. The Soldier for the King fights for the King and himself; the Rebel for the Pretender, fights against himself for the Pretender, who is so far from being able to Reward him, that it is not in his Power to Pardon him for his Services. *Which Party is then to be chosen!*

N^o 27. Monday, October 10.

IT has been argued, and I think, proved in this Paper, that the *Revolution*, and present Settlement, were not only justifiable, but necessary and laudable Transactions of the Legislature. This has been made appear from the Notion that the Publick Good is the Measure both of Government and Submission to it, and from the Maxim, that every Subject is obliged to defend the Government under which he is born, without enquiring into the Justice of its first Institution. It has been further urged, that the King, under whom we have the

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Happiness to live, was invited to be our Prince, accepted of that Invitation which we made for our own sakes, without Art or Force of his, and has received our Universal Submission and Fealty.

Notwithstanding that thus Equitable and Just is the State of our Case, the Sword is drawn against his Power, by Perjured Subjects of his own; Murmurings and Secret Designs are every Day discovered in Favour of the Rebels; and from a very late Universal Unanimity, we are, in an Instant, become a Nation divided against itself.

By what Steps and Artifices a People, among whom a good Share of Learning is ordinary, and common Courage is almost Universal, and Jealousy for their Liberties runs through the common Conversation of all Parties; I say, it is worth enquiring whence it is, that among such a People, Affection and Credulity are on the Side of their Enemies, Aversion and Distrust are turned upon their Friends and Benefactors. This perhaps, may be made appear in future Discourses; it would be abjectly poor, to assume the Name of *Englishman*, and be afraid, or ashamed, to lay our Calamities upon those to whom they are justly to be imputed. In the mean Time, it is necessary to re-call to Men's Thoughts the State they were in, when they despaired of such Blessings as they now despise, which may be seen in the following Letter from an unknown Hand, as well as in a more laboured Enumeration of Matters of Fact.

To

To the Englishman.

S I R,

“ YOUR Concern for the publick Good is
 “ a Security to me, that you will excuse
 “ an Impulse of Zeal for the Common Cause,
 “ that prompts me to lay before you in a Nar-
 “ rative Manner, the following Tracts which
 “ many have forgot, or neglected to tell their
 “ Children.

“ During the Life of King *Charles* the Second,
 “ the Duke of *York*, afterwards King *James*, pro-
 “ fessed himself a Protestant, and several Men
 “ were severely prosecuted for saying he was a
 “ *Papist*: Nay, there is an Instance of One, who
 “ had Judgment pronounced against him, with an
 “ exorbitant Fine for that Calumny, after the
 “ King on the Throne had declared himself a
 “ *Papist*: But the Commons of *Charles* the Se-
 “ cond, who knew him to be so in his Heart, fore-
 “ seeing the Danger which must of Necessity fol-
 “ low, both in Church and State, from a *Papist*
 “ King, did whatever in them lay to exclude him
 “ from the Crown; but King *Charles* being him-
 “ self a disguised *Papist*, and a known Pensioner of
 “ *France*, prevented it.

“ That Prince being dead, the Time came of
 “ making an Experiment of a professed *Papist*
 “ King. King *James* went immediately to Mass,
 “ and disdained to act in Disguise any longer;
 “ however he declared in Council, that he in-
 “ tended to preserve the Government in Church
 “ and State, as it was by Law Established;

“ con-

“ confirmed that Declaration by his Coronation
 “ Oath, and renewed his Promises to the Parlia-
 “ ment: So that every Body thinking Things se-
 “ cure by the strong Fence of the Law, and the
 “ King’s reiterated Assurances, he was received with
 “ a general Submission and Chearfulness, and the
 “ Parliament voted, that they did acquiesce, and
 “ entirely rely, and rest wholly satisfied on his Ma-
 “ jesty’s most Gracious Word, and repeated Pro-
 “ mises.

“ But to what Purpose are Promises from *Popish*
 “ *Princes* to Protestant Subjects? They are void by
 “ the very Principles of that Religion: The Pope is
 “ always ready to Absolve from any such Engage-
 “ ment, whenever the Interests of his Spiritual Ty-
 “ ranny are concerned.

“ Besides, no *Popish Point of Doctrine* is better
 “ known, nor better asserted in Deeds and Words,
 “ than this, *That Faith is not to be kept with Here-*
 “ *ticks*. Every Body knows, that the Council of
 “ *Constance* made this Decree some hundred Years
 “ ago, and immediately put it in Practice upon
 “ *John Huss*, and *Hierom* of *Prague*, two famous
 “ Divines, who laboured for the Redress of some
 “ Abuses in the Church of *Rome*. They went to
 “ that Council under the Emperor’s Protection, se-
 “ cured by a safe-Conduct, or Warranty under his
 “ Hand and Seal: Yet it was voted, *That no Faith*
 “ *ought to be kept with Hereticks*; and then or-
 “ dered them both to be burnt alive: And that Do-
 “ ctrine hath ever since been the standing Rule, or
 “ if not constant Practice of that Church.

“ King *James* had no sooner Swore, and pro-
 “ mised to preserve the Church, as he found it Estab-
 “ lished by Law, but without any loss of time, he

“ betook himself to ruin it Root and Branch ; by
 “ erecting *Papish* Chapels, Schools, and Seminaries,
 “ in several Parts of the Kingdom ; by sending an
 “ Ambassador to *Rome*, with Instructions to recon-
 “ cile these Kingdoms to the *Holy See* ; by receiv-
 “ ing a *Nuncio* from thence ; by causing *Papish* Bi-
 “ shops to be publickly Consecrated in his own
 “ Chapel, and by sending them as openly into the
 “ Counties, to several Districts appointed for
 “ them ; tho’ all this was High-Treason by Law.
 “ He published an Order, to forbid the Protestant
 “ Clergy to meddle in Disputes about Religion ;
 “ Erected an Unlawful Ecclesiastick Court, to
 “ overthrow the Church ; suspended the Bishop of
 “ *London* ; sent the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to
 “ the *Tower*, and Six other Bishops all at once
 “ of which illustrious Number, the present Bishop
 “ of *Winchester* and *Worcester*, then of *Exeter* and
 “ *St. Asaph*, are still living : He caused them to be
 “ tryed as Criminals in *Westminster-Hall*, a pro-
 “ fessed *Papist* being one of their Judges ; turned
 “ the Protestants out of *Magdalen-College* in *Ox-*
 “ *ford*, and gave it to *Papists* ; took away the *Char-*
 “ *ter* of the City of *London*, and of many other
 “ Corporations ; turned the Protestants out of the
 “ Army, as fast as he could, and put those of his
 “ own Religion in their Room ; pick’d out all the
 “ Profligates he could find, even from the Prisons
 “ to put them in Places of Trust, in order to ad-
 “ vance *Treason* and *Falshood*, as he should find Occasion
 “ to oppress the Nation. His Chancellor in *Ire-*
 “ *land*, one of those advanced Instruments, com-
 “ plimented the Protestants from the Bench, and
 “ on other Occasions, by saying, That amongst
 “ 40000 of them, there was not one but was a
 “ Traitor.

" Traytor, a Rebel, and a Villain. The King
 " caused the *Protestant-Religion* to be entirely sup-
 " press'd in *Ireland*, forbidding, under Pain of
 " Death, the Protestants to meet any where above
 " Five in Number, so that all Protestant Churches
 " were shut up; and by an Act of Parliament in
 " the same Kingdom, adjudged to Death, and For-
 " feiture, 2 Archbishops, 1 Duke, 7 Earls, 7 Coun-
 " tesses, 28 Viscounts, 2 Viscountesses, 7 Bishops,
 " 18 Barons, 33 Baronets, 51 Knights, 83 Clergy-
 " men, 2182 Esquires and Gentlemen, all at once,
 " and all of them unheard.

" Thus this true unmasked *Popish Prince* acted
 " according to the Rules of his own Religion :
 " Thus did he keep his Word, Oath and Promises,
 " to preserve the Church of *England*.

" I shall end this with an Address of *Mr. Samu-*
 " *el Johnson*, to the *English* Protestants in King
 " *James's* Army, which made a great Noise, and
 " may now be justly directed to several of our mis-
 " led Fellow-Subjects, joyning with *Papists* to place
 " the Pope's God-Son over us, if they could. The
 " Address runs thus:

Gentlemen,

NExt to the Duty we owe to God, which ought to
 be the principal Care of Men of your Pro-
 fession, which carry your Lives in your Hands, and
 often look Death in the Face, is the Service of your
 Native Country, wherein you drew your first Breath,
 and a free English Air. Now I desire you to consi-
 der, how you will comply with these two main Points,
 by engaging in the present Service. Is it, in the
 Name of GOD, for his Service, that you have joyned

your selves with Papists, who indeed must fight for the Mass-Book, but will burn the BIBLE, and seek to exterminate the Protestant Religion with your Swords, because they cannot do it with their own; and will you be aiding and assisting to set up Mass-Houses, to erect that Kingdom of Darkness and Desolation amongst us, and train up all our Children in Popery! How can you do these Things, and call your selves Protestants, &c.

I am, SIR,

Your most Humble Seavant.

N^o. 28. Friday, October 14.

THE present Posture of Affairs in this Kingdom, is a State of Tranquility and Happiness, compared to the Condition it is apparent we must at this Time have been in, had not it pleased Providence to take off the late *French Monarch*. It is as clear as Light it self, that the Ministers of this Nation had laid a Design to bring in the Pretender by the Power of that Prince, whose Zeal for it was such, that he contrived previous Circumstances to it, even in his last Will; with all which Merit, the Church of *Rome* had no Regard to him, but as their Tool. Among other Circumstances that one cannot but reflect upon, when one considers the last Moments of a Person who made so great a Figure in the World, there is one, methinks, which, as

much

much as a Matter of greater Moment, shews the Genius of the Roman-Catholick Religion. The King on his Death-Bed, expressed a Personal Esteem for the Cardinal *Noailles*, and desir'd to see him: That, he was told by his Confessor, would render all the Great Things his Majesty had lately done for the Church ineffectual. The King then desired he might be acquainted, that he has showed a Concern for him, and desired he might be informed of it. This was promised with Difficulty, and not at all performed. That Superstition requires of its Votaries to abandon all Kindness, Good Nature, and all the comely Habits of Life, when they come in Competition with its Interests. And the distressed King, in his last Moments, after having spent his whole Life in the Office of an Ecclesiastical Executioner, could not be indulged a last Adieu, a bare Civility to a Heretick. But it is more melancholy to reflect, that there are Circumstances more horrible, and certainly more unnatural, than any Infatuation under which the *Roman-Catholick* World can labour, and that is to see Protestants the Instruments of their own Ruin, and weary of the Blessings of the *Reformation*, venturing their Lives to Introduce Ignorance, Superstition, and Slavery.

To the Englishman.

S I R,

“ SINCE it is our Misfortune to see some of
 “ our Fellow-Subjects, tho’ *Protestants*, en-
 “ deavouring in Conjunction with *Papists*, to bring
 “ us again under the Yoke of Popery, the Miseries
 “ of which we so lately experienced, it would not,
 “ methinks, be improper to observe to them, that

“ *Mahometism* is not a greater Enemy to *Christianity*, than *Popery* is to the *Reformation*; nay,
 “ much less: For amongst the *Turks*, *Christians*
 “ have Leave to exercise their own Religion in
 “ their own Houses, and in many Places publick
 “ Churches are allowed; whereas such a Tolerati-
 “ on is unknown in the *Papish* Dominions. The
 “ Professors of that Religion, wherever they have
 “ the Power, will be contented with nothing but a
 “ total Extirpation of *Protestants*.

“ The Matter of Fact is evident; for the Refor-
 “ mation hath been entirely rooted out in several
 “ Nations where it was at first introduced; as in
 “ *France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Austria, Hun-*
 “ *gary, Transilvania, Bohemia, and Poland*; in
 “ most of which there remains not the least foot-
 “ step of it; and what still continues in some other
 “ Parts, is nothing but some poor scattered Mem-
 “ bers, oppressed with all the Load of Misery that
 “ can be laid upon them.

“ The Reformation was opposed in its very Be-
 “ ginning, like the first Propagation of *Chri-*
 “ *stianity*, by Fire and Sword, and the most ex-
 “ quisite Rage and Cruelty. For *Popery* was
 “ not then satisfied with simple Death, but it
 “ must be attended with a Train of Tortures;
 “ and burning alive was esteemed an Act of
 “ Mercy.

“ *England*, among the rest, hath been made sen-
 “ sible of the Truth of what I assert. In the
 “ short Reign of *Queen Mary*, Martyrs were
 “ burnt by Forties at a time; nor hath there been
 “ a Reign since that Princess, which hath not
 “ been infected with Plots, Treasons, Murders, or
 “ Massacres,

" Massacres, contrived and carried on by Papists,
 " who have been at work ever since, underhand or
 " openly, and have laid hold of all Oppor-
 " tunities to subject us once more to their Ty-
 " ranny.

" The Fifth of *November* is appointed for an
 " Annual Remembrance of one of those horrid
 " Plots, which every body knows was a Design to
 " blow up the Parliament-House with 36 Barrels
 " of Gunpowder, to destroy at one Blow, the
 " King, Lords, and Commons of *England*, and
 " so do the Work of *Popery* at once.

" But we have another Example of a fresher
 " Date, which is no less execrable and terrible, I
 " mean the Massacre of *Ireland*: The *Protestants*
 " and *Papists* of that Kingdom lived together in
 " perfect Peace, when a Plot was carried on under-
 " hand by the *Papists* to surprize the poor unwary
 " Protestants, and to destroy them by Fire and
 " Sword. Accordingly, they rose up in Arms,
 " and murdered no less than Two Hundred Thou-
 " sand Men, Women and Children, so that the
 " whole Body of Protestants, (except *Dublin*, sa-
 " ved almost by Miracle) were over-run in an In-
 " stant with Fire, Blood, and Desolation.

" We might justly Charge the *Papists* with the
 " Miseries that attended the unfortunate Reign of
 " King *Charles* the First; for Cardinal *Ricblieu*,
 " Prime Minister of *France*, fomented the Divi-
 " sions in that Reign; he sent his Chaplain and
 " Almoner over with that Intent; a Secret Agent
 " from the Pope was also dispatched, with several
 " Jesuits for the same End, viz. In order to play
 " one part of the Nation against the other, ac-
 " cording to their usual Custom.

" The Plots and Massacres of our own Nation
 " can be compared to none, but to that called the
 " *Saint Bartholome* in *France*. *Charles* the IXth,
 " King of *France*, professing an entire Friendship
 " for his *Protestant* Subjects, obliged his own Sister
 " to marry the Prince of *Navarre*, a *Protestant*, as
 " the surest Pledge of his Favour to them; and
 " and under pretence of this Marriage, drew the
 " Chief of the *Protestants* together in *Paris*, de-
 " signing to cut them all off at one Blow. The
 " Queen of *Navarre* coming to the Wedding of
 " her own Son, was first dispatched by Poyson;
 " and then at the Toll of a Bell, which was the
 " Signal for the Slaughter, in the middle of the
 " Night, when all the *Protestants* were fast asleep,
 " the 24th of *August*, 1572, the Murderers fell to
 " work, and surprised them all in their Beds, mur-
 " dered and flung out of the Windows the Great
 " Admiral of *Coligni*, whom the Treacherous
 " King was used to hug in his Arms, to call him
 " his Father, and to Swear to him that he had no
 " thing to fear; and with this Great Man, were
 " murdered Twenty other Great Men, One Thou-
 " sand Two Hundred Gentlemen of Note, and
 " about an Hundred Thousand of all sort. A Day
 " so black and horrible, that one of the *French*
 " Historians wishes it might be blotted out of their
 " Annals.

" I have no Room to relate how Two Kings of
 " *France*, tho' *Papists*, have been murdered by
 " the *Papists*, upon account of their not being
 " thought violent enough: How the Great *Mau-*
 " *rice*, Prince of *Orange*, was Assassinated by one
 " of them in his own Chamber: How *Tilly*, a
 " *Rapist*

“ *Popish* General, whom *Gustavus Adolphus* was
 “ used to call Priest, killed at once near Forty
 “ Thousand Protestants in *Magdeburg*: How the
 “ Bloody Duke of *Alva*, Governor of the *Nether-*
 “ *lands*, bragged that he had caused Eighteen
 “ Thousand Protestants to dye by the Hands of the
 “ Hangman. I cannot dwell upon the late Grand
 “ Persecution of *France*, which is one of the great-
 “ est Violations of Laws and publick Faith, that
 “ was ever known upon the Face of the Earth,
 “ and which filled all the Protestant Nations with
 “ Horror, and their Territories with distressed Fa-
 “ milies. I shall but just mention about 14 Mil-
 “ lions of Men, which the *Papists* say they de-
 “ stroyed in the *West-Indies*, under the Pretence of
 “ Religion; nor have I Time to give an Account
 “ of the Inquisition.

“ Let the Protestants who desert the Church
 “ to be assisting to *Popery*, take this into their
 “ Consideration; and there can be no Man of Ho-
 “ nour, or they have done with Religion, but
 “ will forsake his Error, when he sees the dread-
 “ ful Consequences of it.

I am, S I R,

Your most humble, &c.

S. B.

No. 29. Friday, October 21.

THE Letter in last Friday's Paper had an Expression in it, which produced the following from a Learned Hand.

To the Englishman.

S I R, Westminster, October 19. 1715.

“ IN your *Englishman* of Friday last, the Writer of a Letter directed to you, observes well, That Mahometanism is not a greater Enemy to Christianity, than Popery is to the Reformation; and he has by undeniable Testimonies sufficiently evinced it. He might have added, that among those of the Church of Rome have been found some (and those Men in High Stations) who have openly professed, that they have a greater Aversion to the Protestant Religion, than they have to Mahometanism and Infidelity. This appears not only by a Book written by William Reynolds, a Popish Priest, entitled, *Calvinoturcismus*, (Printed at Antwerp, Anno 1599. in Octavo) but also by other Writings of Papists. A Remarkable Instance of this is to be found in a Book written by Cardinal Pool, which he calls *Defensio pro Unitate Ecclesie Catholicae: Si Cæsarem, says he, intellexerim, cum omni sua dasset adversus Turcam cursum dirigere, ac si jam*
“ *Helleponti*

“ *Hellesponti fauces tenentem Conspicerem, nun-*
 “ *quam acquiescerem, donec convenirem, & in*
 “ *hac verba apud cum prorumperem. Caesar, quo-*
 “ *parras? Quid cogitas: Si amor republica Chri-*
 “ *stiane te movet, ut regem Turcarum antiquum*
 “ *Christiani nominis hostem aggrediare, annon un-*
 “ *de majus periculum Reipublica Christiana immi-*
 “ *net, & ubi novus hostis viget, multo quam Tur-*
 “ *ca Infestior, eò potius cursum convertere oportet,*
 “ *viz. In Angliam, cujus semen Adulterinum vix*
 “ *a Turcico internosci possit?* Lib iii. Folio cxi.
 “ Edit. Rom. In *English*: If I should see the Em-
 “ peror with all his Fleet directing his Course
 “ against the *Turk*, and if I should behold him now
 “ even entring the Mouth of the *Hellespont* (the
 “ *Dardanel*s) I would never be quiet till I had
 “ come at him, and bespoken him in these Words.
 “ *Caesar*, whither goest thou? What dost thou
 “ think of? If the Love of *Christendom* move thee
 “ [to this Enterprize] to attack the *Turk*, that in-
 “ veterate Enemy of the Christian Name, is there
 “ not a Place, where a new Enemy (more cruel
 “ than the *Turk*) flourisheth, from whom greater
 “ Danger is threatned to the Christian World, to-
 “ ward which Place thou oughtest to direct thy
 “ Course, viz. Against *England*, whose Whoredom
 “ from the True Worship can scarce be distinguish-
 “ ed from that of the *Turk*.
 “ This Cardinal *Pool*, who could thus wish,
 “ that the Emperor would, instead of warring
 “ against the *Turks*, send his Arms against the
 “ *Protestants*, against his own Country, and even
 “ against his Lawful Prince and Benefactor, was
 “ nearly related by Blood to King *Henry* the
 “ VIIIth, being Grandson to *George* Duke of
 “ *Clarence*,

" *Clarence*, who was Brother to King *Edward* the
 " IVth, Cousin-german once removed to the La-
 " dy *Elizabeth*, Wife of King *Henry* the VIIth,
 " to whom he was also near a-kin by his Father,
 " Sir *Richard Pool*. Hence it appears, that Popery
 " divests Men not only of all natural Affection and
 " Loyalty, but also of Humanity it self.

I am, S I R,

Your Faithful Servant.

The Popular Hatred against the detestable Ufur-
 pations of *Popery*, which ought to be kept up in all
Protestant Dominions, has been by degrees sensibly
 abated of late Years, and I am sorry that any *En-*
glish Subjects; are become the Objects of that Aver-
 sion. This makes it necessary to put the Papacy in
 its true Light, and, as it really is, the Subversion of
 all the Rights of Mankind, wherever it takes place;
 the above Instance of the Sentiments of Cardinal
Pool, is too strong to be controverted, and you see
 a Gentleman of the Highest Birth and Quality, in
 a civilized Nation receive Impressions from Reli-
 gion which would be Monstrous in a Savage. It is
 a Melancholy Effect of Learning in his Holiness
 and Conclave, that their whole Thoughts and
 Designs are levelled at the Destruction of what-
 ever is prompted by Reason and Nature, when
 they oppose Ecclesiastical Ambition. As the
 Writer of this Letter has set forth the Corrup-
 tion of the See of *Rome*, by the Detestation its
 Votaries express towards other Christians, we
 may

may consent that there are Men under the Denomination of Christianity, who are greater Hereticks from the Institution of our Saviour than those professed Anti-Christians the *Turks* themselves.

The *Turk* is a religious Observer of his Word to those whom he detests; but the *Papist* will not observe even his Oath to an Heretick.

The *Turk* denies the People Learning, but allows them their *Alcoran*: The Pope allows Literature, but clasps up the Bible in an unknown Tongue.

The *Turk* prays to One God, and to the Impostor, whom he believes a true Prophet.

The *Papist* professes One God and One Saviour, but dishonours both by Adoration of Saints and Angels.

The *Turk* believes the Satisfaction of Sins made by the Merits and Innocence of his *Mahomet*.

The *Papist* expects Forgiveness from Works of Supererogation, and in many Performances in which Christianity is no way concerned.

In fine, the *Turk* has Charity for the rest of Mankind, and the *Papist* Damns all who dissent from him in Ordinances of his own making.

These are occasional and obvious Considerations of a Secular Man, but the Subject of the absurd Innovations of the See of *Rome*, have been Excellently set forth, from time to time, by the generous Labours of many of our Divines: Especially on Occasions wherein their Doctrines for the Ruin of Mankind, have been followed by Bloodshed and Massacres. The Anniversary for that in *Ireland* in Forty One, is to be observed by the *Protestants* of that
King-

Kingdom now residing in *London*, by Divine Service and a Sermon in *St. James's Church*, on *Monday* next; and as our present Distresses and Calamities are in a great measure owing to the Imprudence, Rashness, or Iniquity of some of the Clergy, so it is to be hoped the Zeal and Courage of the Men of Honour in Holy Orders will stem the Torrent of Prejudice with which their False Brethren have blinded their Fellow-Subjects. I will not doubt but those Gentlemen who have ever asserted our Civil and Religious Liberties against such wicked Arts, will continue to use all their Industry and Influence upon their several Congregations, to re-call the just Spirit and Zeal of the *Protestant* and Christian Faith into the Minds of an Honest and Credulous People, corrupted and misled in the Name of God and Religion.

N^o 30. *Monday, October 24.*

IT may not be improper in future Discourses, to expostulate with the *Roman-Catholicks*, among us, many of whom are possess'd of ample Fortunes, and consequently are concern'd equally with other Men in the Prosperity and Welfare of *Great Britain*: The Worthier Sort of them may at length be inclined to hearken to the Law of Reason and Nature: For the present, I shall make the following Letter the Entertainment of the Day.

To

To the Englishman!

S I R,

“ I Have been lately perusing a small Piece, en-
 “ titled, *An Address to those of the Roman*
 “ *Communion in England*, occasioned by the Act
 “ of Parliament for the further preventing the
 “ *Growth of Popery*. The Design of this Piece,
 “ was to shew the Necessity and Justice of that
 “ Law, to invite the *Roman-Catholicks* to enquire
 “ impartially into the Grounds of their Religion,
 “ and to point out to them the main Errors of it.
 “ The Honesty of this Tract, with the good
 “ Effects it is said to have had on the Minds
 “ of many *Papists* at that Time, is what chiefly
 “ recommended it to me; and I am of the Opi-
 “ nion, that an Address of this Nature can never
 “ be more properly revived than at this Juncture,
 “ when the *Roman-Catholicks* seem almost gene-
 “ rally to have deserted their own, as well as
 “ their Country’s true Interest, when they throw
 “ off that quiet Temper and Behaviour which
 “ formerly softened our Resentments towards them,
 “ and are peculiarly active in promoting the Cause
 “ of the Enemies of these Kingdoms. It would
 “ be a seasonable and worthy Employment, for
 “ a Pen so eminently successful as yours, to at-
 “ tempt to undeceive these deluded Men, and,
 “ if possible, to restore them to their King, to
 “ their Fellow-Subjects, and to the true Worship
 “ of God in the Church of *England*. We could
 “ not doubt of suitable Effects from a Capacity
 “ which has showed Vertue in such amiable
 “ Lights;

" Lights, as have brought at least the Affectation of it into Fashion. In the mean time, Sir, permit me to lay before you some Passages out of that well-designed Treatise I have been speaking of, which I think may be of Use to you in prosecuting such a Work.

There is another Consideration, (says this Candid Writer) which perhaps may weigh more with you in this Matter, than the Opinion of Protestants; which is, That if this Charge against you be true, if you are guilty of Schism and Idolatry, and such gross Errors, by the Opinions of your own Divines you cannot be Saved. This is a Matter that they themselves often urge against that Charity which Protestants are apt to have for sincere honest People among you that are invincibly ignorant; besides, the very same Reasons which they urge to shew the danger that we are in, do equally hold against you, supposing that you are in the wrong. If it be Heresy in us to deny the Articles of your new Creed, supposing they are true, it must be Heresy in you to believe them, supposing they are false; the Reason is the same in both: And so as to the Schism, if your pretended Head of the Church be guilty of Tyranny and Usurpation, and Heresy and Idolatry, and of imposing these upon Christians, it is He and his Followers are in the Schism, and not We. And then, all these dreadful things which your own Writers say against Schism and Heresy, do as much belong to you, supposing you are in the wrong, as they do to us if we are so. And therefore, if what they say have any Weight with you, it ought to make you consider seriously whether you are in the right, or no.

In the

I the rather urge this, because it contains a full Answer to that piece of Sophistry wherewith you often deceive yourselves, and endeavour to delude us; That you are safe by the Confession of all Sides, but we are not, and that therefore we ought in Prudence to come over unto you. Which is false; for by your own Opinion you are not safe, but in a Damnable Condition, supposing that you are in the Wrong: There is no Difference at all betwixt us and you in this Matter, except only where the Truth lies. For if our charitable Opinion of the Mercy of God to invincible Ignorance be true, this is Comfort to us, supposing we are mistaken, as it is to you, supposing you are so; and on the other side, if your Damning Doctrine be true, this is as dangerous to you as it is to us.

" After having examined the several Pretences to " Infallibility, he goes on:

These I take to be undeniable Consequences, from the Differences among them about their Infallible Judge; and I think from all together, I may well infer, that there is no such thing, since it so much concerns the World, if there be any, to be at a certainty about it, and yet the greatest part of Christians know nothing at all of the Matter; and those who do pretend to know it, are, in truth, as much at a loss about it as those that do not; only they agree in a Name, which leads them different ways, perhaps all Wrong, and only more Infallibly secures them in Error.

And again, The Apostle (says he) commands Christians to examine the Pretences that any should make to the Spirit of God, which supposes that their Understanding, how fallible soever, was sufficient to judge in these Matters. In

In a Word, the Writers and Emissaries of the Church of Rome, do themselves, when they don't think of it, in effect confess this; for when they bring Scripture, and other Arguments to persuade us to come over to their Church, I would ask them, Are we proper Judges of these things, or are we not? Will our Faith be a true Faith, that is founded upon these Scriptures, or these Reasons that you here bring? If it be so, then we may understand for ourselves, and there is no Necessity in order to true Faith, of an Infallible Judge; but if it be not so, there ought to be then an end of Disputes; for it's in vain to Dispute where it's supposed that we cannot understand or judge, and all offering of Scripture or Reason to prove the Truth of their Opinions, is only Affront and Mockery.

But it may be it will be said, Don't we see People differ about the Interpretation of Scripture? some go one way and some another, and yet all are confident of their own; How can we be sure that we are in the Right any more than they, who are as confident in what they say as we are?

Now this Objection is founded upon this, that we cannot have Certainty of what is once Disputed; which is contrary to the Common Opinion of Mankind, who would have done Disputing, if they thought they could not be certain when once Men differed from them. This does indeed overthrow all Reason and Religion. Some have ventured to Dispute the Being of God, and many more the Truth of the Christian Religion, and yet I hope we may be very certain of the Truth of both these. But I would only urge at present this one Consideration.

Are

*Are all the World agreed about their Infallible Judge? If not, how can they be certain of that? But to press this Matter a little more plainly; they say, for Instance, that we can't from Scripture be certain of the Divinity of our Saviour, because the Socinians, a small Number of Men, dispute that Matter. But the same Socinians deny their Infal-
lible Judge, and therefore that must at least be as uncertain as the other: And not only the Socinians, but all the Protestants deny it, which must make it still more uncertain; and not only all the Pro-
testants, but the Greek, Armenian, Ethiopian Churches, a vast Body of Men, which must still add to the Uncertainty; and not only all these, but all that in any Age or Nation have ever differed from the Church of Rome; for whoever differs from them must deny their Infallibility, and consequently this must have been Disputed not only as much as any one Point, but as much as all the rest together.*

This, I think, is a demonstrative Answer to this whole way of Arguing, and shews the manifest Absurdity of it; for it makes things uncertain because they are Disputed, and yet makes the most Disputed thing in all the World the Foundation of all the Certainty they have.

" The last Passage I shall quote from this Author, contains a Passage which he himself takes from Chillingworth, relating to the Doctrine of Transubstantiatron.

I shall content my self (says he) to repeat some of those Absurdities and Contradictions which are ready collected to my Hand, by a Great Divine of our own.

That

That there should be Accidents without a Subject, that is, That there should be Length, and nothing long; Breadth, and nothing broad; Thickness, and nothing thick; Whiteness, and nothing white; Roundness, and nothing round; Weight, and nothing heavy; Sweetness, and nothing sweet; Moisture, and nothing moist; Fluidness, and nothing flowing; many Actions, and no Agent; many Passions and no Patient; that is, that there should be a long, broad, thick, white, round, heavy, sweet, moist, flowing, active, passive nothing.

That Bread should be turned into the Substance of Christ, and yet not any thing of that Bread become any thing of Christ, neither the Matter, nor the Form, nor the Accidents of Bread, be made either the Matter, or the Form, or the Accidents of Christ.

That Bread should be turned into nothing, and at the same Time, with the same Action, be turned into Christ, and yet that Christ should not be nothing.

That the same thing at the same Time should have its just Dimensions, and just Distance of its Parts one from another, and at the same Time should not have it, but all its Parts together in the self-same Point.

That the Body of Christ, which is much greater, should be contained wholly in that which is less; and that not once only, but as many times over as there are Points in the Bread and Wine.

That the same thing at the same time should be wholly above itself, and wholly below itself, within itself and without itself, on the right Hand and on the left Hand, and round about itself.

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That the same thing at the same time should move to and from itself, and lie still; or that it should be carried from one place to another through the middle space, and yet not move.

That to be One should be to be undivided from itself, and yet that One and the same thing should be divided from itself.

That a finite Thing may be in all Places at once.

That there should be no Certainty in our Senses, and yet that we should know something certainly, and know nothing [Corporal] but by our Senses.

That, that which is, and was long ago, should now begin to be. That the same thing should be before and after itself.

That it should be possible that the same Man, for Example, You or I, may at the same time be awake at London, and not awake but asleep at Rome; there run or walk, here not run or walk, but stand still, sit, or lie down; there study or write, here do nothing but dine or sup; there speak, here be silent; that he may in one place freeze with Cold, in another burn with Heat; that he may be drunk in one place, sober in another; Valiant in one place, a Coward in another; a Thief in one place, and honest in another; that he may be a Papist and go to Mass in Rome, a Protestant and go to Church in England; that he may die in Rome, and live in England; or dying in both Places, may go to Hell from Rome, and to Heaven from England.

That the Body and Soul of Christ should cease to be where it was, and yet not go to another Place, nor be destroyed.

“ Now

" Now, Sir, I do not pretend that the above
 " Citations are any Thing more than the com-
 " mon Topicks against some Tenets of *Papery*:
 " What I insist upon is, That this Turn of Rea-
 " soning, if improved, and set in an advantageous
 " View, might probably alarm many of those
 " unhappy Men among the *Papists*, who are at
 " this Time seduced into Measures destructive of
 " their real Interests; I say, if the Controversy
 " between us and them were to pass through
 " your Imagination, I make no Doubt but that
 " the Number of good Protestants and good
 " Subjects would be insensibly increased, and
 " that after so many Obligations laid upon the
 " Publick, you would have the Satisfaction of
 " deserving well of it by a Piece of Service,
 " which is hardly to be expected from any other
 " Hand.

I am, S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

R. B.

N^o. 31. *Friday, October 28.*

THIS Paper has represented the Conduct of
 the late Ministry, and made it appear, that
 they

they justly deserved the Title which it has ordinarily given them of the *Parricides*. This has appeared from the Vouchers in the Report of the Parliament, from many Events which have given those Vouchers new Authority, and from one particular Circumstance, not the least convincing of all the rest, that two Principal Secretaries of State to that Cabal of Conspirators, the one, *viz.* *Bolingbroke*, fled from a great Estate to avoid Justice, and follow the Interests of the *Prétender*; the other, Lord *Mar*, staying only for the Preliminaries of taking the Oaths to King *GEORGE*, and receiving the Obligation of his Bounty, is become a Traytor also, and now in Arms in behalf of the same Impostor. A Man must be of a very cold Complexion, that can want an Inclination to Investive, when he thinks of such Criminals and their Abettors; but it behoves us, when we are arguing and enforcing of Truth, to make out that Truth from plain Reason and Matters of Fact, before we give a Loose to Indignation: It is therefore expedient to look back upon Collateral Circumstances, which we have not yet treated of, to evince further the Wickedness of these Betrayers in the Place of Servants of their Country; and in the Examination of their Actions, to have a particular Eye to their Conduct towards his present Majesty, from whose Minister they received an Admonition, when they first began their Outrages, which would have startled, and put a Stop to the Proceedings of any Men, who were not determinately bent to undermine the Right of the Succession.

I in-

I intend here that memorable Piece so justly admired for it its Reason, Perspicuity and Eloquence, which is familiarly known by every *Englishman*, by the Title of *Batbmars Memorial*. The Posture of the World at that Time, when this was presented, is admirably stated, and the Interest of *England* set forth in a Light too forcible to be suppressed by any less Power than that of a wicked Court, working upon the Prejudices of a deluded People. I shall begin therefore the Arguments Collateral to what has been already produced, by laying before the *Reader* his Majesty's Sense of Things in that Conjunction of Affairs; and beseeching him to compare the Spirit of that Memorial from a Successor, with the Declaration of a Sovereign, that the Constitution should be the Rule of his Government; I shall hope from him a well-prepared Attention to what I have to say in following Papers. After a short Preface, the *Memorial* goes on as follows.

“ The Sentiments of his Electoral Highness on
 “ the Peace, and on its Negotiation, are: That
 “ the Allies have need not only of positive Decla-
 “ rations, but likewise of real Securities, especial-
 “ ly having to do with an Enemy, whose Me-
 “ thods of acting are well known. This the for-
 “ mer Preliminaries provided for, by obliging
 “ *France* to give up previously some Places of Secu-
 “ rity. In these there is neither any real Security,
 “ nor any clear and distinct Declaration. All is
 “ couched in indefinite general Terms, which in
 “ Reality express Nothing, and upon which Years
 “ might be spent in negotiating. 'Tis left to be

“ considered which is the surest Way to put a
 “ speedy End to the War, whether by previously
 “ insisting on such Conditions from *France*, that
 “ nothing may remain to be done in a General As-
 “ sembly but to give them the Form of a Treaty;
 “ or to open that Assembly upon Articles that are
 “ Captious and Obscure, which leave an open Field
 “ for *France* to put in Practice her usual Intrigues
 “ and Chicanes.

“ Nothing but a perfect Union between the
 “ Allies, while the General Peace shall be treat-
 “ ing, and the mutual Guaranty they shall give
 “ each other upon what shall therein be conclu-
 “ ded, can secure them for the future. Without
 “ this, all *Europe* will fall into Confusion, and
 “ sooner or later into Slavery; especially if *Spain*
 “ and the *Indies* be left in the Possession of a Prince
 “ of the House of *Bourbon*. We cannot flatter our-
 “ selves, that after a Peace concluded in this Man-
 “ ner, *Great-Britain* can be in Safety, and main-
 “ tain itself in a quiet and flourishing Condition,
 “ unless it continue with the States-General and
 “ the other Allies in an Union, that may defend
 “ all of them together against the Enterprizes of
 “ *France*. All their Forces united have hardly
 “ been sufficient to save them; whence it may be
 “ judg’d what would happen, if that Crown should
 “ have the Fortune to divide them, and what it
 “ would be able to put in Execution, after having
 “ taken Breath some Years, and reinforc’d it self
 “ by *Spain*, and by the Riches of the *Indies*. ’Tis
 “ not doubted therefore, that her *Britannick* Ma-
 “ jesty proposes to act in this whole Affair jointly,
 “ and in Concert with her Allies, conformably to
 “ the Assurances which she has given them. But

“ to banish all Distrust, it would be necessary that
 “ there should be no secret Negotiation which
 “ might give Ground for Suspicion that one or
 “ other of the Allies might make their own Treaty
 “ seperately.

“ All the Allies will gladly concur to conclude
 “ the Peace, provided they may have their Secu-
 “ rity in it; there not being any one among them
 “ who is not weary of the Expence and Inconve-
 “ nience of the War; or would be willing to con-
 “ tinue it when it shall cease to be necessary. Fur-
 “ ther, not one of them but would take Pleasure
 “ to contribute with all his Power to obtain for
 “ *Great-Britain* such Conditions and Advantages
 “ as it can demand from *France*. His Electoral
 “ Highness in particular, will take it on him as a
 “ Duty, to employ all the Means conducing thereto
 “ which can be desired of him: Nothing in Na-
 “ ture being more just, after the many great
 “ Things which her *Britannick* Majesty has done,
 “ with her triumphant Nation, for the Com-
 “ mon Cause, from the Beginning of her Glo-
 “ rious Reign. And this way appears to his Ele-
 “ ctoral Highness to be more sure for procuring
 “ this End, and for preserving such Advantages,
 “ than if *Great-Britain* should endeavour it,
 “ without the Concurrence of the Allies, by a se-
 “ parate Negotiation. Nor could any thing be
 “ more advantageous to *France*, than if by her
 “ Dexterity she could dazzle the Eyes of one of the
 “ Maritime Powers, so as to induce such Power
 “ to accept of some Advantages so much to the
 “ Prejudice of the other, that the Jealousy thence
 “ arising might become an Obstacle to their Union
 “ for the future; which Union constituting their

“ reciprocal Security, is looked upon by *France*; as
 “ the grand Hindrance of its vast Designs.

“ His Electoral Highness can answer for it, that
 “ the Imperial Court never formed the Design im-
 “ puted to them of entring with *France* into a
 “ Secret Negotiation to the Prejudice of the Inte-
 “ rests of *Great-Britain*. But for removing all
 “ Cause of Umbrage on that Account, as well
 “ with Respect to the Emperor, as to the States-
 “ General of the United Provinces, new Engage-
 “ ments may be entered into with those two Po-
 “ tentates, and it may be firmly depended on that
 “ they will make no Difficulty to promise the
 “ Queen, in the most binding and most solemn
 “ Manner, never to enter into any Negotiation
 “ with the common Enemy, nor ever to receive
 “ any Offer or Proposition from him, without her
 “ Majesty's Participation, and without taking com-
 “ mon Measures in Concert with her. It has been
 “ alledged, that the Imperial Court will make no
 “ Difficulty to renounce *Spain* and the *Indies*, pro-
 “ vided the Dominions in *Italy* and in the *Nether-*
 “ *lands* be given them: But upon this 'tis but just
 “ to hear the Mind of the new Emperor, who 'tis
 “ known has entirely at Heart the Affairs of *Spain*.

“ 'Tis easy to see the pernicious Consequences
 “ which there would be Ground to apprehend, if
 “ *Spain* and the *Indies* were left to the Duke of
 “ *Anjou*. Her Majesty her self has delivered her
 “ own Opinion clearly upon it, in her Speech at
 “ the Opening of the very last Session of her Par-
 “ liament, recommending the War in *Spain*, as
 “ that which most concerned the *British* Nation,
 “ who will in no wise find Amends for it by the
 “ Trade of the *South-Sea*, with which they are

flattered; which Trade, if given in Reality (as may justly be doubted it will not) would however be but precarious, and last no longer than *France* and *Spain* should please to permit.

Those two Crowns cannot in that Case be considered otherwise than as one Potentate. All the World knows that 'tis *France* which governs the *Spaniards* in their Councils, in their Finances, in their Military Affairs, and even carries on their Commerce with the *Indies* by her Ships: *France* has already made her self so much the Mistress of all these, that if the *Spaniards* would resume their Independance, either after the Peace, or after the Death of the present King of *France*, 'tis no longer in their Power; nor can any Treaty be of Force sufficient to oblige *France* effectually to quit these Advantages. Besides, 'tis to be considered, that if the Descendants of the Duke of *Anjou*, or the Male Line of the Dauphin his Brother, should sooner or later come to fail, those two Crowns would be absolutely united under one Head: No Treaty, no Renunciation could be strong enough to hinder that Union in such a Case, of which the Renunciation made at the Peace of the *Pyrenees*, and the Treaty of Partition, are, among many other Examples, Evidence sufficient. 'Tis very certain likewise, that the King of *France*, who notwithstanding the Peace and his Engagements with King *William III.* of Glorious Memory, acknowledged in his Life-time another for King of *England*, as soon as he thought himself by his Grandson Master of *Spain*, will no sooner see this Grandson of his settled on that Throne, but he will endeavour also to place his Creature upon that of Great-
Britain,

" *Britain*, and will accomplish it, having augment-
 " ed his Power with that of *Spain*, and his Riches
 " by those of the *Indies*.

" 'Tis easy to foresee the Danger the Queen's
 " Person would be in, and what would become
 " then of the Liberty of *Great-Britain*, under a
 " Master educated in the Maxims of *France*, and
 " in Hatred to the best *Englishmen*, who have ab-
 " jured him according to Law: There would then
 " in Consequence be an End of the Liberty of *Eu-*
 " *rope*, and of the Protestant Religion, by a
 " League founded in Obligation, Necessity and
 " Gratitude, between three Kings of an opposite
 " Religion, and of so great Power by Sea and
 " Land, under the Direction of that of *France*.
 " These are Consequences in which his Electoral
 " Highness is too nearly interested and concerned,
 " to look upon them with Indifference.

" As to the Barrier in the *Spanish Netherlands*,
 " it cannot be said that the Security of the *United*
 " *Provinces* only is concerned in it: On the contra-
 " ry, it is full as much the Concern of *Great-Bri-*
 " *tain*, which would find it self in no less Danger
 " than the said Republick, if *France* become Mi-
 " stress of the *Spanish Netherlands*. This Truth
 " has at all Times been acknowledged by the
 " *English*, even in the Reign of *Charles II.* who
 " notwithstanding his close Engagements with that
 " Crown, would not suffer it to conquer them. So
 " that the Barrier, which excludes that dangerous
 " Enemy from the *Netherlands*, is the Common
 " Interest of the two Maritime Potentates, as well
 " as of the Empire of *Germany*; and besides, *Great-*
 " *Britain* has at present in Lieu of her Guaranty of
 " that Barrier, a reciprocal Guaranty for the Pro-
 " testant Succession.

“ Whatever be done, and whether the Assembly
 “ for Peace be forthwith opened, or deferred to
 “ another Time, that is to say, till *France* has
 “ made more satisfactory Declarations, his Electo-
 “ ral Highness thinks that it is absolutely necessary,
 “ not to be any way remiss in the Preparations for
 “ the ensuing Campaign; there being no hope of
 “ obtaining good Conditions of Peace, but by get-
 “ ting into a Posture to pursue the War vigorously,
 “ and begin the Campaign early with considerable
 “ Forces, seeing *France* on her Part, is already
 “ making great Preparations for it. ’Tis with Re-
 “ gard to this, that his Electoral Highness will not
 “ make use of the Permission which her Majesty
 “ has had the Goodness to grant him in so friendly
 “ a Manner, of taking this Winter some of his
 “ Regiments of Dragoons home to his own Coun-
 “ try, having resolved to leave them in the *Nether-*
 “ *lands*. Notwithstanding which, his Electoral
 “ Highness will bear the same Acknowledgment to
 “ her Majesty, as if he had actually made use of
 “ her said Permission. ’Tis not to be doubted the
 “ Emperor will make much greater Efforts than
 “ formerly, and that the States-General will fur-
 “ nish what they are obliged to by the Treaties;
 “ his Imperial Majesty being ready to concert new
 “ Agreements thereupon with her *Britannick* Ma-
 “ jesty. But above all, it will be essentially neces-
 “ sary to avoid the Snare of a Cessation of Arms,
 “ which ’tis very probable *France* will propose as
 “ soon as the Assembly for Peace shall be opened;
 “ which Cessation keeping the Maritime Poten-
 “ tates in the Necessity of making the same Efforts,
 “ and the same Expence for the War, for main-
 “ taining the same Fleets and the same Armies,
 “ will

" will deprive them of the Means of making use of
 " them, and stop the Progress of their Glorious
 " Arms.

" There is Ground to hope, that by remaining
 " firmly united, the Allies may soon oblige *France*,
 " (with the Blessing of God) to agree to reason-
 " able Conditions; the extreme Indigence that
 " Crown is in, and the Need she has of Peace,
 " being very certain, and confirm'd from all Parts.
 " The Almighty has blessed the Arms of the Queen
 " and of her Allies, with so many Triumphs over
 " their powerful Enemy, to the end they may se-
 " cure themselves by a safe and advantageous Peace
 " from all they have to fear from him; and it can-
 " not be his Pleasure that an Enemy so exhausted
 " and vanquish'd, as he has been on all Occa-
 " sions, should at last carry his Designs by this
 " War, and get out of it by a Peace Glorious to
 " him, to the Ruin of the Victorious Allies, and
 " to the Destruction of the Liberty of *Europe*; in
 " acquiring by this Peace, the Power of giving a
 " King to *Spain*, of imposing one upon *Great-*
 " *Britain*, and of making the Validity of the Ele-
 " ction of the Head of the Empire, depend on his
 " Approbation.

Nov. 28. 1711.

Baron De Bothmar.

R. 4.

Monday.

N^o. 32. Monday, October 31.

THE Memorial recited on Friday last, after intimating the artful Behaviour, for which France was very well known, on Occasion of making Treaties, says it is to be considered, *Which is the surest Way to put an End to the War, whether by previously insisting on such Conditions, that nothing may remain to be done in a General Assembly, but to give them the Form of a Treaty; or to open that Assembly upon Articles that are capitions and obscure, which leave an Open Field for France to put in Practice her usual Intrigues.*

One would think there could be no Question which Proposition should be followed in this Article; but that which in common Sense was to be avoided, was pursued, and instead of restraining France, the most Loose and General Terms were received as proper Motives for entring upon a Negotiation. The natural Construction that must be put upon this Conduct, is, that being determined to advance the Interest of the Pretender, who could not be introduced but by the Power of France, a Ministry in that Design was ready to give up all its Successes, which made against that Power from whence only they could hope to accomplish their Ends.

It was argued in the Memorial, that in case Spain and the Indies should be left in the Possession

session of the Duke of *Anjou*, the Two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* could not be considered otherwise than as *One Potentate*. It was urged, that *France* directed *Spain* in her Councils, her Military Affairs, and even managed her Commerce with *French Vessels*. It was demanded in the same Paper, What would become of *Great-Britain*, in case the King of *France* should take the Resolution to put the Pretender on our Throne. There would then in Consequence be an end of the Liberty of Europe, and of the Protestant Religion, by a League founded in Obligation, Necessity and Gratitude, between Three Kings of an opposite Religion, and of so great Power by Sea and Land, under the Direction of that of *France*.

This Representation instead of being received as the Counsel of a Friend, an Ally, and a Successor to the Crown, was treated by the Ministry like a Libel; and the Inferences made from it were pleasing secret Testimonies, that their Design was well laid for the Purposes which they intended, and not Warnings against their Enterprizes. The Ministry hoped for what all the Honest Men in *England* feared: And every terrible Circumstance to their Country, was to them acceptable and promising.

No Men who did not act upon a different View than that of seeing the Elector of *Hanover* on the *British* Throne, could possibly have treated what His Electoral Highness remonstrated with such Neglect; and that Neglect of His Electoral Highness is now ripened into Treason and Rebellion against His Majesty.

Consummate Prudence so nearly approaches Prediction, that the Memorial has represented the

plain Consequences of what was then transacting; and the Behaviour of *France* on the Conjunction of having obtained the Peace upon its own Plan, has fully answered the Suggestions laid before the World in that wise Representation. As soon as *France* was in the Condition described by the Memorialist, and *France* and *Spain* were One Potentate, (and they were treated as such by the *British* Ministry, in receiving the Promises of *France* for the Performances of *Spain*) Measures were entered into for bringing about the Accession of the Pretender, by the Arms of *France*, and the Treachery of false Men in *England*. It is visible to all the World, that if a Great Monarch had not departed this Life when he did, the Scheme had been put in Execution: And among other Circumstances, no Man who knows my Lord *Mar*, would believe he would go upon so wild a Design as conquering *Great Britain* at the Head of a Rabble. That wily Lord depended upon the late King of *France* for Succours, and the Arms seized on the *French* Shore, to favour an Insurrection in *England*, puts the Design out of all Possibility of being doubted. The *French* King's Will calculated for disappointing the Duke of *Orleans*, by Partners in the Regency, who would promote the Plan he had laid for uniting *France* and *Spain*, and giving a Master to *England*, are further unanswerable Evidences of what was foretold in the Memorial.

I have given the greatest living Testimony that such Events were expected as the Natural Consequences of such a Peace as was then projected: I shall add to it the greatest dead Authority, by producing a Letter from the late Queen to Lord *Godolphin*,

phib, and his Answer. You will see in these Epistles, the surprizing Manner by which that excellent Lady was misled to listen no longer to her Honest Ministers, but to take Councils contrary to the Welfare of her Kingdoms, and with what a generous Spirit the wise and disinterested Earl of *Godolphin* laid before her the Consequences of that Proceeding.

The QUEEN to the Earl of Godolphin.

St. James's, April 13th.

" I am sorry to find by your Letter, you are
 " so very much in the Spleen, as to think
 " you cannot for the future contribute any Thing
 " towards my Quiet, but your Wishes; however,
 " I will still hope you will use your Endeavours;
 " never was there more Occasion than now, for
 " by all one hears and sees every Day, as Things
 " are at present, I think one can expect nothing
 " but Confusion. I am sure, for my Part, I shall
 " be ready to join with all my Friends in every
 " Thing that is Reasonable, to allay the Heat and
 " Ferment that is in this poor Nation. Since
 " you went to *New-Market*, I have received several
 " Assurances from the Duke of *S——y*
 " of his Readiness to serve me upon all Occa-
 " sions, and his Willingness to come into my
 " Service; which Offer I was very glad to accept
 " of, having a very good Opinion of him, and be-
 " lieving he may be of great Use in these trou-
 " blefome Times. For these Reasons, I have re-
 " solved to part with the Duke of *K——t*, who
 " I hope, will be easy in this Matter, by being
 " made

“ made a Duke; and I hope that this Change
 “ will meet with your Approbation, which I wish
 “ I may ever have in all my Actions. I have not
 “ yet declared my Intentions of giving the Staff
 “ and the Key to the Duke of S——y, be-
 “ cause I would be the first that should acquaint
 “ you with it.

The Earl of Godolphin to the QUEEN.

New-Market, April 15. 1710.

“ I Have the Honour of your Majesty's Letter
 “ of the 13th, by which I have the Grief
 “ to find that which, you are pleased to call *Spleen*
 “ in my former Letter, was only a true Impulse
 “ and Conviction of Mind, that your Majesty is
 “ suffering yourself to be guided to your own Ruin
 “ and Destruction, as fast as it is possible for them
 “ to compass it, to whom you seem so much to
 “ hearken.

“ I am not therefore so much surprized as con-
 “ cerned, at the *Resolution* which your Majesty
 “ says you have taken, of bringing in the Duke
 “ of S——y; for when People began to be sen-
 “ sible it would be difficult to persuade your
 “ Majesty to dissolve a Parliament, which for two
 “ Winters together, had given you above Six Mil-
 “ lions a Year for the Support of the War, upon
 “ which your Crown depends, and even while
 “ that War is still subsisting, they have had the
 “ Cunning to contrive this Proposal to your Maje-
 “ sty, which in its Consequence, will certainly put
 “ you under a Necessity of breaking the Parlia-
 “ ment, tho' contrary, I yet believe, to your own
 “ Inclination.

“ I

"I beg your Majesty to be persuaded, I do not
 " say this out of the least Prejudice to the Duke
 " of ~~S-~~, there is no Man of whose Capa-
 " city I have had a better Impression, nor with
 " whom I have lived more easily for above Twenty
 " Years.

"Your Majesty may please to remember, that
 " at your first coming to the Crown, I was de-
 " sirous he should have had one of the Chief
 " Posts in your Service; and it would have been
 " happy for your Majesty and the Kingdom, if
 " he had accepted that Offer, but he thought
 " fit to decline it; and the Reasons generally
 " given at that Time for his doing so, do not
 " much recommend him to your Majesty's Ser-
 " vice; but I must endeavour to let your Ma-
 " jesty see Things as they really are; and to
 " bring him into your Service, and into your
 " Business at this Time, just after his being in
 " a publick open Conjunction in every Vote
 " with the whole Body of the *Tories*, and in
 " private constant Correspondence, and Caballing
 " with Mr. *Harley* in every Thing; What Con-
 " sequence can this possibly have, but to make
 " every Man that is now in your Cabinet uneasy,
 " and run from it as they would do from the
 " Plague? I leave it to your Majesty to judge,
 " what Effect this entire Change of your Ministry
 " will have among your Allies abroad, and how
 " will this War be like to be carried on in their
 " Opinion, by those who have all along opposed
 " and obstructed it, and who will like any Peace
 " the better, the more it leaves *France* at Liberty
 " to take their Time of imposing the Pretender
 " upon this Country.

" These

" These Considerations must certainly make
 " *Holland* run immediately into a Separate Peace
 " with *France*, and make your Majesty lose all
 " the Honour, and all the Reputation your Arms
 " had acquired by the War, and make the King-
 " dom lose all the Fruit of that vast Expence
 " which they have been at in this War, as well
 " as all the Advantage and Safety which they
 " had so much need of, and had so fair a Prospect
 " of obtaining by it. And can any Body imagine
 " that after so great a Disappointment to the
 " Kingdoms, there will not be an Enquiry into
 " the Causes of it, and who have been the Occa-
 " sion of so great a Change in your Majesty's Mea-
 " sures and Councils, which had been so long
 " Successful, and gotten you so great a Name in
 " the World. I am very much afraid your Ma-
 " jesty will find, when 'tis too late, that it will be
 " a difficult Task for any Body to stand against
 " such an Enquiry. I am sure if I did not think
 " all these Consequences inevitable, I would never
 " give your Majesty the Trouble and Uneasiness
 " of laying them before you; perswaded as I am,
 " that your Majesty will find them so, it is my
 " indispensable Duty to do it, out of pure Faith-
 " fulness and Zeal for your Majesty's Service and
 " Honour.

" Your Majesty having taken a Resolution of
 " so much Consequence to all your Affairs both
 " Abroad and at Home, without acquainting the
 " Duke of *Marlborough* or me with it, till after
 " you had taken it, is the least Part of my Morti-
 " fication in this whole Affair, tho' perhaps the
 " World may think the long and faithful Services
 " we have constantly and zealously endeavoured to

do

" do your Majesty, might have deserved a little
" more Consideration.

" However, for my own Part, I most humbly
" beg Leave to assure your Majesty, I will never
" give the least Obstruction to your Measures, or
" to any Ministers you shall please to employ.
" And I must beg further, to make two humble
" Requests to your Majesty, one that you will
" allow me to pass the Remainder of my Life
" always out of London, where I may find most
" Ease and Quiet; the other, that you would
" keep this Letter, and read it again about *Christ-*
" *mas*, and then be pleased to make your Judgment,
" who has given you the best and most faithful
" Advice.

These Letters and Memorials, are Evidences that the wisest and greatest Persons in the World knew the Change of a Ministry which had reduced *France*, would naturally tend to restore Her to Her exorbitant Power. Besides this Observation, I had a mind to give my *Reader* an Instance of Publick Spirit in a degenerate Age, in the Person of that memorable Minister the Earl of *Godolphin*, who had, without the least Regard to his own Fortune, raised the Wealth and Credit of his Country to an Height she never before knew, and with the utmost Indifference resigns the highest Station, when he could no longer contribute to the Glory of the Publick. There could, I say, no less than what happened during his Administration, be expected from a Man of this Noble Lord's Moderation, who seldom spoke, but was most forcibly Eloquent: that managed Treasure with a Contempt of it, and panted for the Glory of his Country without Ambition in himself.

Friday,

do your Majesty might have delivered a like
 " more Consideration

" However, for my own Part, I most humbly
 " beg I leave to stune your Majesty, I will never

No 33. Friday, November 4.
 " give the least Opposition to your Majesty's Pleasure
 " to any Manner you shall please to employ

" And I must beg further to make two humbly
 " requests to your Majesty, the first is, that you will

" It is just and reasonable to encourage all who
 " escape from the Enemies Camp, however they
 " are appointed as to their Arms and Accoutrements.

" I shall therefore receive the following Letter, till I
 " have further examined whether he is a Spy or a

" Deserter.
 " who has given you the best and most faithful

To the Englishman.

" These Letters and Memorials are Evidence that
 " the wisest and greatest Persons in the World

" I Am one of those unfortunate Men, who have
 " been seduced into Practices which I now

" plainly see have served an Interest I never wished
 " well to. I have this Comfort, that I meant

" honestly, and was firmly perswaded I was doing
 " my Country Service by Zeal, or rather Rage,

" for the Church of *England*: But late Circum-
 " stances, and cooler Thoughts, have recovered

" me from the Delusion I was in, and made it
 " plainly appear, that I have been all this while

" advancing the Designs of *Papists*, and the pro-
 " fess'd Enemies of our happy Establishment. I

" will at present cover my Resentments against
 " those abandon'd Incendiaries, who have been

" Instrumental in ensnaring me, and many other
 " innocent Men, into Measures destructive of the

" Happiness of our Fellow-Subjects. I doubt not I
 " shall find an Opportunity both to vindicate my

" self

“ self from the Dishonour of being an Enemy
 “ to my Country, and to make just Returns to
 “ those by whom my Credulity has been so abused
 “ and injured. In the mean Time, I should think
 “ I had made some Amends for former Errors, if
 “ any Thing I could do might be useful to the
 “ Publick. The following Reasoning, as well as
 “ I have been able to put it together, makes it
 “ clear, at least to me, that all those whose secret
 “ Intention it is to take the Oaths to the Preten-
 “ der, in case he succeeds in his present Attempt,
 “ will be Perjured, even by their own way of
 “ Arguing.

“ It may be remember’d, it was formerly ar-
 “ gued by a Party among us, that it was the
 “ most unjust Thing in the World to accuse
 “ them of having a View to the Pretender, when
 “ they had given the last Security for their Affec-
 “ tion and Zeal to the Protestant Succession, by
 “ taking the Oath of Abjuration. It was an-
 “ swered, that they who acted and said every Thing
 “ which tended to promote the Pretender’s Inte-
 “ rest, must be interpreted to have some Reserve
 “ or Evasion in Readiness, whenever it should be
 “ in their Power to declare themselves with Secu-
 “ rity. And it was further affirm’d, that their
 “ Meaning was this, *viz.* That the Obligation of
 “ that Oath, (the Abjuration) having its Founda-
 “ tion in Parliamentary Authority, they might
 “ fully satisfy their Consciences in swearing to the
 “ Person they had Abjured, provided the same
 “ Power which imposed the Oath upon them,
 “ should at any Time think fit to take it off. Ac-
 “ cordingly we have lived to see this Assertion made
 “ good for some Time before the late Queen’s
 “ Death,

" Death; it was common to hear even Clergymen
 " affirm, that if she and her Parliament invalida-
 " ted that Oath, and declared the Pretender the
 " Rightful and Lawful Heir to the Crown, they
 " might Lawfully swear to him, since this would
 " be the Act of the Legislature, which is the Power
 " in being in *England*, and which they were there-
 " fore obliged to yield Obedience to, by the Laws
 " of God.

" Now, Sir, what I pretend to say, is this;
 " Since that Legislature, from whom they expected
 " this extraordinary Turn of Politicks, so agree-
 " able to their Inclinations, was so far from re-
 " pealing the Acts made against the Pretender,
 " that it has transmitted those Acts in their full
 " Force and Power to us, in which the Crown is
 " settled on King *GEORGE*, and his Successors;
 " being Protestants; since King *GEORGE*, by
 " Virtue and Tenor of those Acts, and of others
 " made in a former Reign in his Behalf, without
 " his Knowledge or Desire, is now seated on the
 " Throne, at the Head of the present Legislature;
 " since this Legislature has not only recognized him
 " as their Lawful Sovereign, but has continued all
 " former Acts made in his Favour, and Enacted
 " new Laws also to extinguish the Hopes of the
 " Pretender; Things standing thus, as it is Re-
 " bellion to endeavour to bring in the said Preten-
 " der, so would it be manifest Perjury in these
 " Men now, from their own Way of Arguing, to
 " Swear to him, if he should succeed in his At-
 " tempt on the Crown, since nothing but the Le-
 " gislative Power can set aside the Abjuration
 " Oath, or determine the Succession to the Crown;
 " so that unless King *GEORGE*; and the Now
 " Legi-

“ Legislative Power annul that Oath, and resign
 “ the Government, admitting this Pretender should
 “ prevail by Means of the present Rebellion, yet
 “ these Jurors to him would be Perjured.

“ For do not two successive Legislatures sub-
 “ sequent to a third, in which this Affair was
 “ rightly stated and determined, do they not
 “ all exclude him as a Person incapable of Go-
 “ verning, and as one who has not the least Right
 “ to the Crown of these Realms? How then can
 “ he come in? Not by way of Conquest, he is no
 “ Foreign Potentate; and, I suppose, to say we
 “ could be our own Conquerors, would be Absur-
 “ dity; not by Right, the Laws exclude him, and
 “ his Legitimacy is denied or doubted; not by In-
 “ vitation, or Consent, the Legislature, *viz.* The
 “ Nation in its Representative, is against him;
 “ He has no Way therefore to come in but by Re-
 “ bellion; he can acquire no Title but what must
 “ be founded in Treason. Now, I desire it may be
 “ considered, whether Perjury will be made less
 “ Criminal by Rebellion: whether the Natural
 “ Guilt of one Crime can be taken away by Vir-
 “ tue of another: Can the Violation of Laws
 “ make that an innocent Action, which before
 “ this Violation would have been a Guilty One?
 “ In a word, how can Treason be an Attone-
 “ ment for Perjury? It may as well be said, the
 “ committing Robbery will expiate the Guilt
 “ of Murther. But let us suppose the present
 “ Legislature to be laid aside by this Rebellion;
 “ I then affirm there would be no Government,
 “ no Law in *England*, this Legislature being the
 “ only one Established by Law: Or if there
 “ were not an Indecency in it, suppose the Pre-
 “ tender

“ tender Exercising Power in one Place, King
“ *GEORGE* in another, both with their
“ Lords and Commons Enacting Laws, which is
“ a possible Supposition; which Legislature would
“ you chuse to obey, for there cannot be two
“ real Ones at once? That of King *GEORGE*,
“ which is confirmed by three successive Lawful
“ Legislatures, or that of the Pretender, which
“ is excluded by them all, on pain of Perjury,
“ and which is procured by no Title but Re-
“ bellion.

“ I send you this as an Act of Repentance, and
“ an Abjuration of that Party, who, I find, make
“ another Abjuration a Jest. I have considered
“ the Behaviour of one Set of Men, and the
“ other, by looking into Publick Transactions for
“ these Forty Years last past, and find by compa-
“ ring their several Intentions and Endeavours,
“ that one Side have been obliged to support
“ common Sense, and the Natural Rights of Man-
“ kind, by carrying on a War at the Hazard of
“ their Lives and Fortunes, against the Absurdi-
“ ties and nonsensical Positions of the other, who
“ have never been awakened into a Belief of the
“ Designs of their Enemies, till they were in the
“ Power of those Enemies, had they not been res-
“ cued by the immediate Interposition of Provi-
“ dence. I beg of you, Sir, to examine this Asser-
“ tion by the History of *England*, from the Bill of
“ Exclusion, to the Death of the King of *France*,
“ and you will find that we have made War to
“ prove that it was Day-Light; and Men oppose
“ their own Good from no other Reason in Na-
“ ture, but a Dislike to those who pretended to pro-
“ mote it. All this, Sir, is perhaps not so regularly
“ stated.

stated as it might, but spoken without Art, from
a sincere Conviction that I have been your, and
every *Englishman's* Enemy, tho' now very
much

Your humble Servant,

Convert Hearty.

N^o. 34. *Monday, November 7.*

IT has been reasoned, and I think proved to every Man's Understanding, that it is impossible for a Prince to enjoy Power by more just, natural, or unexceptionable Right, than that by which his present Majesty sits on the Throne. It has been made appear at large, that the Obligation betwixt the Governing and Governed, was never settled upon so fair and equitable a Foundation; and that among the various Pretensions to Power, now subsisting in the World, which have their Original in Fraud, Violence, Oppression, Conquest, and the like, there is one only in Being, which is founded on Principles Unblameable, and Noble, viz. King *GEORGE's* Title to the Crown of *Great-Britain*; it being conferred upon him by a People for their own Safety, who were induced thereto neither by Fear, Artifice, or any other Necessity, than their own Good. It has been further urged, that the Laws of *England* plainly determine the Allegiance of the Subject to the Regnant King, be his

Right what it will : That of Nineteen Successive Kings from the Conquest, thirteen were what the Law calls Kings *de facto*, that is, such as reigned without Hereditary-Titles : That yet the Subject constantly took the Oaths to these ; and that in the Course of all their Reigns, there was no such Thing as a *Nonjuror* heard of. Notwithstanding all this, in Opposition to the clearest and best Reason of Mankind, in Opposition to the certain Interests of these Kingdoms, Endeavours are daily used to poison the Minds of the Ignorant and Unthinking. And it is our Misfortune, that as the Vulgar are more affected with *Legerdemain* Tricks, than honest Performance of Art ; so are they easier to be wrought upon by Tricks in Logick, by insidious Fallacies, than by the most just and solid Reasoning : They are equally incapable of discerning the Force of a good Argument, or the Weakness of a bad one. This opens a wide Field for Men of ill Designs, to impose what they please upon them ; and there will never be wanting Men, who will have the Hardiness and Conscience to bring about their Designs by such ungenerous Arts. I am of Opinion therefore, it will not be unuseful at this Time, to expose the Pretences our Enemies make use of, by producing them in open Day, and laying before Men the Falshood and Dishonesty of their Sophisms. The publick-spirited Writers of the Laity, and the Men of Honour among the Clergy, have of late made it their Business to possess the Minds of People with a true Sense of the Guilt of Perjury, and to convince them of the indispensable Obligation they are under, to keep religiously their Oaths to the Publick. To obviate this, and defeat the good Effects which such Reasonings might have upon

upon the Minds of well-meaning Men, no Arts have been left unemployed. One would think it should be no very prevailing one, to give out loose Assertions, without Allusion to the particular Things or Purposes to which they would have them applied: They trust to the Prejudices which they have been long raising in the Minds of the People, to make them work as they wish: To favour their Purposes in the present Posture of Affairs, they have given out, and hand about the Countries, the following Suggestions as Rules of Conduct for the unhappy Men who have been long misled by them.

It was a Rule, in the Spiritual Law, that an Oath was not instituted to be a Bond of Iniquity. It is inserted in the Decretals too, that an Oath taken in Prejudice of a Superior Right, was not Valid; and that an Oath due to one, but made to another was not Lawful, and was to be performed to him to whom it was due. Most of the Writers upon the Law of Nature, do plainly affirm the Nullity of such Oaths as are extorted by fear of losing Estate, Liberty, or Life, and are taken pro Virâ & rebus servandis.

If, by saying, *An Oath was not Instituted to be the Bond of Iniquity*, they mean, that an Oath cannot bind Men to the doing a wicked Action, the Proposition is true, and we entirely agree with them; but we deny that it will follow from this, that Men are not obliged by their Oaths to be faithful to the present Establishment, because the paying a peaceable Obedience to it, is so far from being a wicked Thing, that it is every Man's Duty, and would be so, altho' he had not sworn to it. If our Enemies understand this Bond of Iniquity in
any

any other Sense, let them explain that Sense, and then we shall know what other Answer to give them.

The second Objection from the Decretals, That *an Oath taken in Prejudice of a Superior Right was not Valid*, we must suppose to be grounded on a Supposition, which is a very remarkable one, viz. That the Pretender has a Superior Right. We are so far from owning him to have a Superior Right, that we assert he has no Right at all, and consequently the Objection will have no Force at all. That he hath no such Right as is pretended, is proved thus; If he has neither a Divine Right, nor a Natural Right, nor a Civil Right, then he cannot have any Right, much less a Superior one. That he hath neither a Divine, Natural or Civil Right, will be evident from hence. Divine Right is given only by the Revealed Law of God, but Revelation has no where marked out this Person, the Pretender, for our King; I insist upon it, he is no where named for our King in Scripture. Natural Right is grounded on the Law of Nature, but the Law of Nature is of universal and perpetual Obligation, and cannot therefore extend to the particular Forms of Government, which are Various and Temporary, much less doth it assign what particular Families or Persons shall Reign in any Nation. Lastly, The Civil Law is changeable: It was made by Man, and therefore it may be changed by Man: In a word, it has been changed with respect to our Succession, and we maintain that this Change was made both by a proper Authority, and on just and Natural Motives.

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The third Objection, That an Oath due to one, but made to another, was not Lawful, and was to be performed to him to whom it was due, is grounded on the same Supposition of Right with the foregoing, and therefore is answered the same Way.

As to the last Objection, That most of the Writers upon the Law of Nature, affirm the Nullity of such Oaths as are extorted by fear of losing Estate, Liberty, or Life: This is relying wholly on Authority. I am not certain, with respect to those Writers, what most of them do, or do not affirm in this Case; but if I am not very much mistaken, *Sanderfon* in his *Treatise de Obligatione Juramenti*, maintains the contrary Opinion, and his Authority is of great Weight in the Church of England. But supposing they do affirm it, their Opinion is erroneous, and they affirm what is false; for if it be once admitted that Men may take their Oaths with a Resolution not to keep them, in order to avoid Temporal Inconveniencies, this will at once break down the Banks which secure Society, and let in an Inundation of Impiety and Immorality; this will open a wide Passage for all other the greatest Crimes, if it self could be followed by a greater, which by a Parity of Reason may be justified, when committed to escape the losing Liberty, Estate, and the like. Besides, I deny, that the Oaths taken to the present Government upon entring into Employments, are extorted by Force; it is a voluntary Thing, and every Man is at Liberty whether he will take or refuse them. Though the taking them is a Means to prove he is qualified to serve his Country, yet the refusing them

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does not make him liable to the Loss of any Possession: And then the Choice whether a Man will be Perjured, or forego the Occasion of Preferment in the State, cannot amount to such a Necessity as will in the least extenuate, nor to say absolve, the Breach of an Oath. Lastly, to put an End to this Pretence, if the Oaths taken to King GEORGE, to obtain or preserve an Employment, were supposed Invalid, as proceeding from Fear, it will follow from hence, that all Oaths on the like Occasions taken to any other Prince would be Invalid too, which our Enemies will not say, nor we I think; and this is a matter not

Thus I have endeavoured to detect some of those pernicious Arts, which ill Men contrive to make their Fellow Subjects the Instruments of their own Destruction. It is terrible to see Men without the least Compunction, breaking through the most Sacred Ties; but it is much more so to see them industrious to enslave others into the same Guilt; to persuade Men to Perjure themselves, in order to procure some great Good, some uncommon Happiness to a People, even this were immoral and unjustifiable; but to persuade them to be Traitors with an Intention to involve them into Slavery and Ruin, to invite them to purchase Chains at the Expence of their Innocency, and give up their Properties by the Violation of their Consciences; this is so cruel and unnatural, that the Depravity of Human Nature will not account for it.

As this Conduct therefore is of all others the most Odious, the opposite Virtue cannot but be the brightest. It must, I say, be one of the most generous Labours of Life, to instruct Men how to

value

value their just Rights, and to inspire their Minds with worthy Sentiments of that Original Natural Freedom in which God first created Man: This Subject is excellently treated in Mr. Smedley's Sermon to the Protestants of *Ireland*, in which the Sentiments are truly Noble, and agreeable to the true Spirit of Christianity, whose Characteristick is Benevolence and Love to all Mankind.

No. 35. Friday, November 11.

IT behoves all who can in any Degree influence Mankind, to employ their utmost Ability in giving the People proper Sentiments of their Duty, with Relation to the present Posture of Affairs. We are now in a Civil War, and a Rebellion is actually raised in two different Parts of the King's Dominions. To what Sett of Men this Disposition is owing, is no longer in Dispute; and it is more painful to say it in Regard to the Abettors of these Tumults, than for any Consideration of a Man's self. But the Fact is, that some Men in Orders, forgetting the Obligation of their Function, and the Spirit of that Religion which they profess, and to which they should Administer, have by General Terms and Insinuations suggested false Fears to the Multitude, and warmed them into a Disposition to fall in with any Commotions that might arise, in order to avert Dangers which have never yet been described, so as to know distinctly from whence they are to come. I speak

this out of my Love and Respect to the Clergy, which is so great, that though I would rather have their good Opinion than that of any other sort of Men, I now attempt doing them Service, conscious that I shall procure their Displeasure: But I sincerely prefer their Interest to their Favour, and will take upon me to say, that they grow into Neglect, for want of exerting themselves at this Time, by a proper Zeal for the King's Service, to whom they have Sworn. We have formerly had a Book, Entituled, *The Causes of the Contempt of the Clergy*. Those Causes that Author recites, are such as a wrong Education, want of Maintenance to go through their Studies, a ridiculous Taste of Eloquence, and the like; but he has not mentioned the want of Morality and Honour to such a Degree, as to inflame the People with unjust Intimations against the Government under which they live, and misguide them with Doctrines of Passive Resignation to the Will of their Prince; in their Conversations intimating a Power excluded, in their Pulpits leaving it at large, whether they allude to that, or a present Possessor of the Crown: But Things have at last spoken themselves, and Process of Time has expos'd these Men to every Man's Notice, from their Behaviour at this Day. They loudly pronounced the Church in Danger, when no Man else saw it; they are silent now all the rest of the World acknowledge it. The late Reign gave us many Proofs how little the Welfare of the Church, with Respect either to her Doctrines or Discipline, was intended by them: Among others, that of their leaving a Noble Lord, who gained them all they could desire

desire of that Kind, and following one in Power, whom they did not believe to have any Principles at all. Power has been their Aim, and He was their Patron who had most of that to communicate to them. This Conduct must needs render Men Contemprible, if any thing could be the Object of Contempt and Terror at the same Time. The Fire-balls are thrown, and those who threw them stand unconcerned and out of Danger, now they are ready to burst into Execution. It was not the Danger of Popery or Slavery that was the Object of their Anger, or their Fear; but the Protection which the Civil Power gave its faithful Subjects, who were not under their Direction in Spirituals, was what was invidious to them. The most Profligate of Mankind within the Pale of their Jurisdiction, were good Churchmen; the most regular Life Analogous to their own Religion, was odious and detestable. This way of treating Mankind, has rendered them so terrible to all who are afraid of Publick Calumny, whether Just or not, (and Niney Nine in an Hundred are within that Description) that they have carried the World before them; and the few who had Fortitude enough to scorn unjust Reproach, have suffered it without being able to stem the Torrent, either by their Example, or their Eloquence. From an Arithmetical Computation, it is no hard Matter to judge, how easily and readily a Man, who would speak nothing but what was the Dictate of a well examined Conscience, and had no Arms but Innocence and Vertue, might be run down by those of his own Order, who stood upon no Terms of Truth or Argument, and had each of them an

Audience of a Thousand Persons: Add to this, that every Orator had the same sacred Pretence with the calumniated Man to be believed, and not one in an Hundred ever saw, heard, or read the Sufferer. I have known an Instance where this Conduct has prevailed against a Man, who has best supported and defended the Church of *England*, against the Dissenters from it, whom he has been accused to favour; nay, it has prevailed so far, his Friends have been afraid to own him: An unaccountable Circumstance, to have defended those Doctrines for which his Enemies contend, and be hated by them, and to have asserted those Doctrines by which his Friends have lived and prospered, and to be over-looked from their Fear. This latter is the Case, more or less, of every Clergyman, who has stuck to the true Interest of his Country for some Years last past. As to those who have acted a different Part, I shall not think it inconsistent with Moderation, to charge any of them who formerly favoured the Doctrine of Hereditary Right, and are now languid in the King's Interest, with the Imputation of having at all times meant the Pretender, and having practised Perjury as a Means to accomplish Treason. I can see no Reason why those of the Clergy, who will not do themselves and their Country the Justice of being now as Zealous for the Government, as they were before in promoting those Doctrines which made against it, should not be understood Enemies to the Publick, and become, according to their Behaviour, one way or other, Objects of our Respect or Contempt. I shall not carry this Thought any further at present, but conclude this Paper with an intercepted Letter from a Per-

a Person whom it is not prudent to name, to no less a Man than Mr. Secretary to the Pretender.

S. I. R,

" I Have visited the several Counties according
 " to your Order, and find that the Words
 " *Hereditary, Indefeasible, and Unalienable*, are
 " received by the lower Part of the Clergy, like
 " the Term *Innoncompositum* of *Smiglesius*, of
 " which they think they have, but really have not,
 " any distinct Idea; but tho' their Reason is not
 " informed in that Matter, their Passions are
 " thoroughly engaged in it. In a heady and
 " implicit Manner, they are wrought upon to
 " imagine, that their particular Interests, the
 " Honour and Safety of the Church, of which they
 " are Ministers, are consulted by those who pro-
 " mote the Intention of those Words, and are
 " as much undermined by those who affect to
 " repeat the Words *Parliamentary, Legislative,*
 " and the like. If Things go as you and I wish,
 " the Sentiments of both Parties will be fully an-
 " swered. The Restoration of the Church-Lands
 " will oblige one Party with the full Exercise
 " of the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, and the
 " other we have no Obligation upon us to oblige
 " at all. I desire you will advise our Friend
 " to put this Consideration in his Scheme, that
 " Zeal against him is in the Breasts of such Men,
 " as feel it rise in Proportion to approaching
 " Danger; and Fury on his Side abates by the
 " same Degrees, from the same Reason. But up-

“ on Recollection, I say this rather for the Infor-
 “ mation of you, who are his Minister, than
 “ himself; for his Fault is not Rashness. What
 “ will become of our Affair? It began when the
 “ old Dragon was living, and can be helped by
 “ no Foreign Prince, but who, whatever his Heart
 “ is, must preserve Appearances to our Enemies,
 “ and under that Restraint can but barely be able
 “ to permit us, when we are contending against
 “ the most powerful Prince in *Europe*. *Betty* talks
 “ of nothing but you.

Adieu.

P. S. When you write to *Bounce*, remember
 the Church.

N^o. 36. *Monday, November 14.*

WHEN we read the Histories of every Day,
 as they lye on Coffee-House Tables, and
 observe with what Caution the Learned Authors
 treat the Publick Occurrences; as speaking of
 a Partisan of the Rebels, he is with great Gravity
 and Form called *General Gordon*; *Mackintosh*,
 another Leader of this Rabble, is the Brigadier,
 and *Mar* mentioned as if as good an Earl as
 ever he was: I say, when this is the Air and Stile
 of the publick Papers which are published in
 the Face of the Government, one cannot but
 be at a Loss to know how all the publick Spi-
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rit for the true Interest of this Nation, is vanished; and by what Methods the generous Indignation against its Enemies, for which we have been formerly Remarkable, is sunk into the present dangerous, if not fatal Indifference.

Among other Arts of deluding the People; and insinuating what should insensibly contribute to the present Posture of our Affairs, was the well-managing of Addresses. These were sent down to each Corporation, or if the worthy Member for the Town, or the Town-Clerk, happened to have a Vein that Way, and be on the Spot, there was a fine Piece of Eloquence drawn up for Mr. Mayor and his Brethren, which they were given to understand was brisk upon the *Presbyterians* and *Low-Church*, and full of Loyalty, with Damnation denounced to all who were against Monarchy, to wit, the said *Presbyterians* and *Low-Church*, to a Man.

It may be entertaining to look back upon some of these excellent Compositions.

April 22. 1710. The Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Warwick, having observed to the Queen, That when Men have deserted Good old Principles of Subjection to Governors, they naturally sink into Atheism and Infidelity: And what then, why, if she will call a New Parliament, they will chuse such Members as shall assert and maintain Her Hereditary Title; industriously discountenance all Factions; Seditions; Antimonarchical Principles; and religiously observe the known Laws of the Land, especially where the Lives, Liberties, or Fortunes of their Fellow-Subjects are concerned. All before and after the Promise of such as shall assert Hereditary Right, is nothing

thing but Artifice, and the Craft of Rhetorick in the Mayor and Aldermen: for let that bug well take Root, and the Fellow Subjects, and the Antimonarchicals, may go look for any thing wherein their Lives and Fortunes are concerned, where they please. The good Town of Bath, by the Address of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, in Opposition as well to those pernicious Principles of Faction and Sedition, as to all Irreligious, Hypocritical, and Traiterous Practices, the nature and certain Consequences thereof, are surprized that any of Her Majesty's Subjects should dare to deny Her Hereditary Right to the Throne of her Ancestors. I cannot but think Mr. Mayor of Bath, has outdone the Mayor of Warwick in the Garniture of his Hereditary Harangue; for he insinuates afterwards, That those who deny Hereditary Right, at the same Time justify the Murder of the Blessed Martyr.

The Antient City of Litchfield, on the 20th of April, touches the Murder of the Royal Martyr, with Art and Sublimity of Stile, mixed with a Taste of Casuistical Divinity, and makes the Ornaments of the Address introduce, not follow the main Design of Hereditary Right. It is not, (says this Loyal City) only Matter of Concern, but Surprize to us, and (we find it to be to very many of your Loyal Subjects) that in so happy a Reign, and under so wise and gentle an Administration, as is that of your Majesty, the same pernicious Republican Principles should be revived, which even within Memory, brought on a most unnatural Rebellion, subverted the Monarchy, which is the best of Government, ruined the best and purest Part of the Church Catholick, that of
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the Church of England, as by Law Established, and destroyed the best of Princes, your Royal Grandfather, the Glorious Martyr of Blessed Memory; a Loss so great to this Nation, as could never have been so effectually made up to us, as by your Majesty's most happy Accession to the Throne, not by a Precarious Title of Election or Force, but such as was Legal, Peaceful, and Hereditary. On the 20th of April, the Shire still rises in Leicestershire, for the Justices of that County say, That all the debating about Hereditary Right, shall make no other Impression upon their Hearts, than to adhere more firmly, if possible, to a Queen, whose undoubted Title is derived from a long and glorious Descent of Royal Progenitors, and more ardently to embrace those Truths that are founded on Scripture, and delivered down by Christ and his Apostles. I am afraid in turning to other Decorations of the Hereditary Right, we shall find nothing come up to this of the Shire of Leicestershire, for they find they grow more convinced of the Truth of the Scripture, from their Notion of the Settlement of the Crown. But I have lost a Day, and must go back to an Address of the 28th of this extraordinary April, when the University of Oxon, in her Verba, beg Leave to assure your Majesty of the Continuance of our inviolable Duty and Allegiance to your Sacred Person and Government. And as that Duty will never suffer us to call in Question any Title by which your Majesty holds your Crown, particularly that which is Hereditary.

Here is the Opinion of that Learned Body, that the Hereditary Title was the best Title in the

the Queen; when every sensible Man in *England*, except those who subscribed this Address, well knew and understood, that the Queen sat upon the Throne as the Successor of King *William*, and on the same Title only. But the World is well acquainted, that Men of inconsistent Practices, and Principles, attempted to raise in our late Gracious Sovereign a Sense of Justice, in giving to another, after Her Death, what if He had any Pretence at all, was as much his Due before it: They would have had her leave the World doing Right, when she could no longer do Wrong; as Usurers give in Charity on their Death-Bed, what they amassed by Extortion in their Lifetime.

Who would suppose any private and illiterate Borough could surpass *Oxford*; but in *May* following, the Borough of *St. Albans* has it thus: *Your Majesty's Right, and Prerogative Royal, is derived from the King of Kings alone, and therefore your Majesty is accountable to no Power upon Earth except to your own Conscience. This is the Doctrine of the Holy Scriptures, and of our Established Church of England.*

Thus the Synod of *St. Albans*, consisting of Mayor, Burgesses, and Inhabitants, have, by their Plenary Power pronounced the *English* Government of Divine Institution; and observing it described in Holy Scripture, as vested in the Sovereign, Absolute and Unlimited, have accordingly affixed it to the Creed of the Church of *England*.

Canterbury City, May 17. Pays its Homage also to Her Majesty's Hereditary and Undoubted.

ted Right. *New-Sarum* throws it self at the Queen's Feet, *With Hearts knowing no Bounds in Loyalty, nor Reserve in Obedience.* This Declaration from *New-Sarum* must conclude my Quotations; for what can outgo Boundless and Unreserved? The Addressees in this Spirit, had Socinianism, Atheism, Immorality and Prophaneness, as the Motives from which they ran to Unlimited Power for Relief. For they certainly knew, that when there was a Power without Restraint of Law, all Exorbitances, which Laws are made to correct, must necessarily be done away. The Heads of the Vulgar were turned with these insidious Declarations, and they stood at a loss what to do, but remained under a strong Prepossession that the Government was Unjust, and its Basis laid in Usurpation. What Effect this has had, all the World has seen, and to whom it is principally to be ascribed may deserve a distinct Consideration. I shall conclude the present Paper by shewing there was some Antidote, tho' not strong enough, thrown in among this Heap of Poison.

I will Instance the following Address from the Port of *Hythe*, to the immortal Honour of *Julius Deeds*, Mayor of the said Corporation, who has put much honest Sense in the plain and intelligible Language of a well-meaning Subject.

To

To the QUEEN's Most Excellent Majesty,
 The humble Address of the undersigned
 Commonalty with the craft of the principal
 Inhabitants of the Town and Port of Hythe, in
 the County of Kent, One of Your Majesty's
 Cinque Ports.

May it please your Majesty,

WE in the Number of those Your Majesty's
 most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, who Con-
 gratulate the further Progress of your Majesty's
 Arms, upon the Success of which, and a steady
 Pursuit of Revolution Principles, both our present
 Happiness, and Hopes of a safe and lasting Peace,
 so much depend, do humbly crave leave to repeat
 our due and grateful Acknowledgments to Heaven,
 and your Majesty, for the many Blessings enjoyed
 under your most Auspicious Reign, Founded and
 Established on the late no less Divine, than Pro-
 vidential Revolution, which so wonderfully pre-
 served the Civil State, and happily established the
 Church of England, and to which Your Majesty
 has shewn Yourself a Nursing Mother so very
 Beneficent and Tender, that Your Royal Bounty
 and Goodness has not been circumscribed within
 any Distinguished Party, or by the Time present,
 but has variously extended it self to the Good
 and Loyal of one and another Denomination; as
 also for the Peace and Happiness of late Posterity,
 more particularly and so pathetically declared from
 the Throne, at the satisfactory Close of the last
 Sessions of Parliament; and may that Your Sa-
 tisfaction,

tisfaction, together with many others, have no untimely Interruption, nor Your Majesty benighted in Your most just and earnest Hopes of becoming the happy Instrument of that yet more desirable Union of the Hearts of all Your People, in the Bond of mutual Affection; that so there may remain no other Contention among us, but who shall exceed the other, in contributing to advance our present Happiness, and secure the Protestant Succession. And let all the People say, Amen.

No. 37. Friday, November 18.

I Should never think I ought to be forgiven, if I could forbear any longer to congratulate my Countrymen upon that Noble and Christian Declaration of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and many of my Lords the Bishops, in order to shew their Detestation of the present Rebellion, and to exhort their Clergy and People, to all Expressions of a warm and hearty Zeal for their Rightful Sovereign King GEORGE, against the Pretender, and the Cause of Popery and Tyranny. May they long live, the Ornaments of their Church, and of their Profession! May their Memories be blessed in all future Generations!

The World is just now obliged with a Sermon in the same Generous Spirit which appears in this Declaration of these Noble Patriots. This

Discourse

Discourse has laid before us our present Condition: Speaking of the Delusion under which Numbers of this divided Nation labour, He observes that the Cause of the Pretender, is now openly avowed, and that it is undertaken, "To
 " set upon the Throne of these Kingdoms, a
 " Pretender, at whose first Appearance in the
 " World, the whole Nation of *Protestants*, of all
 " Parties, and all Orders, and all Degrees, was
 " fill'd with universal Dissatisfaction, and Uneasiness, by the Concurrence of all the suspicious
 " Circumstances that could well be united in one
 " Matter of Fact; and whose *Imaginary Title*
 " our Laws abhor, as absolutely inconsistent with
 " Themselves, and ruinous to our whole Constitution; And not only this, but a Pretender,
 " who, to make him the fitter to govern this
 " Protestant Nation, and to be the Patron of
 " this Protestant Church, hath received all his
 " first, and deepest Impressions, from that of Rome,
 " to which he hath devoted himself with an uncommon Bigottry.

" And this Church, from which alone he hath
 " learn'd all his Obligations, and every Thing
 " that he accounts Religion, is the same, which
 " keeps up an eternal Claim to the Riches, as
 " well as the Obedience, of this Nation: The
 " Same, which hath assured him, with the assumed Authority of God himself, that he not
 " only may, but must; that it is not only lawful, but his Duty, by all the Methods of
 " Dissimulation and Force, to extirpate *Heresy*
 " out of our Religion, or our selves out of the
 " World: The same, which hath taught him,
 " that Promises and Professions made to *Here-*

" ticks,

“ *ticks*, in order to the obtaining his End, are
 “ good, and laudable; but, after *that* is ob-
 “ tained, become *Sin*, by *being observed*: The
 “ same, in one word, which knows no Virtue,
 “ but that which is the Meanest Vice, and Dis-
 “ grace of Human Nature, a Blind Submission
 “ of the Conscience to Man’s Authority, where
 “ Man can have no Authority; and which knows
 “ no Vice, but, that which is the Supreme Vir-
 “ tue and Glory of an Understanding Being, the
 “ *standing fast in that Religious Liberty*, with
 “ which Almighty God, both by the Law of Na-
 “ ture, and the Gospel of Jesus Christ, *hath made*
 “ *Us Free*; that *Freedom of Choice*, and Honest
 “ Use of our Reason, (the Neglected Gift of God,)
 “ which alone can render the Religion of a Man
 “ *acceptable in his Eyes*.

This shows us what we are to expect will
 inevitably befall us, in Case the Pretender should
 succeed; but to animate and enflame us against
 him, and all his Abettors, we are told also, what
 present Blessings we are to lose by such an Event;
 and it is justly represented, that the present
 Rebellion is undertaken, “ To deprive us of a
 “ KING, who is possess’d of all the Royal and
 “ Human Virtues, that any Nation could wish
 “ to see United in a Governor; and possess’d of
 “ them, in so great a Degree, that were his *People*
 “ but as willing to be made Happy, as *He* is
 “ to make them so, nothing upon Earth could
 “ equal the Blessings of his Reign; of a KING,
 “ who hath given the World, the sensible and
 “ certain Demonstration of Experience, that no
 “ Heighth of Power can corrupt the Equity of
 “ his Nature, or disorder the Temper of His Soul.
 “ To

" To deprive Us of such a KING; and, with
 " Him, of a PRINCE, whose Noble Pas-
 " sion, for the True Interest of this Nation,
 " makes His Name Dear to every True Britain,
 " and every True Protestant: Of a PRIN-
 " CESS, whose Private Virtues give Light
 " and Pleasure to all around Her; and Whose
 " Greatness of Soul, taught Her long ago, to
 " disdain the Allurements of *Papery*, tho' cloath'd
 " in all this World's Majesty and Glory: And
 " of a *Numerous Race*, to be form'd for the
 " Support of our Religion and Liberties, by these
 " Examples. Such a *Scene of Good*, in Posses-
 " sion, as Few Nations upon Earth have ever
 " experienced! And such a View of *Good* to
 " come, as calls the *Blessings* of *Future Times* into
 " our own; and adds to the Happiness of the
 " Present Generation, a *Taste* of the Happiness
 " of their Posterity! And, what is this, in other
 " Words, but, to deprive Us of every present
 " Good, and every future Hope, of *Protestants*,
 " *Britains*, and *Men*?

" The *Cause* now enter'd into by our Enemies,
 " is, to remove from Us, a KING, whose *Right*
 " is the very Essence, Band, and Fundamental
 " Law, of *Society*; and whose Inclination, Na-
 " ture, and Religion, all conspire to make Him
 " the Father of his People, delighting in their
 " Happiness, as in his own: And to place in his
 " stead, a *Pretender*, whose Imaginary *Title* is
 " founded upon the very Supposition of our *Ruin*;
 " and Who, if He were possess'd of all the Good
 " Qualities with which His best Friends could
 " wish, at this time, to paint Him out, yet, is
 " Himself possess'd by such a *Religion* as must de-

stroy

“stroy them all; such a *Religion*, as teacheth Him
 “not to expect either Favour from those who pro-
 “fess it here, or Mercy from God hereafter, un-
 “less He makes the Destruction both of our
 “Church and State, the Great Business of his
 “Life, whenever He hath Power in his Hands:
 “Nay, assures Him of the Wrath both of God
 “and Man, should He be so *Wicked*, as ever to
 “think of observing those *Protestations*, or keep-
 “ing those *Promises*, which are only allowed to de-
 “lude unwary Men into their own Ruin.

This admirable Author shews the Infatuation
 of the Friends to the *Pretender* to be such, as to
 make them fly from the *Imaginary Suspicion* to the
real Certainty of Ruin; to run from those whom
 they weakly suspect may, to those who they know
 must destroy the Church. This is said of all
 Protestants, who join either their Hands, or their
 Hearts, or their Indifference, to carry on the Work
 of the Enemy.

All the little Arts and popular Insinuations
 which have misled the People, are explained with
 a solid and manly Eloquence in this Sermon: And
 to give it greater Weight and Authority, it is
 Preached and Published by one, whose Life and
 Sufferings bear Testimony to his Doctrine; who is
 beloved by all who know him for his Personal Qua-
 lities, and never had an Enemy, but for his *Politi-
 cal Virtues*.

Monday,

N^o. 38. Monday, November 21.

I Recited in my last a great Part of that excellent Sermon of Mr. Hoadley's, on the Fifth Instant, because I was resolved to take the only sure Way of commending it to the Perusal of all the World. But I did not then, nor do I now, mention it out of my Regard to the Author, so much as that of the Publick. There is an Expression in it, which I cannot but repeat, as being particularly full of the honest Spirit that runs through all his Writings. *Many, says he, have shown too great a Readiness to join, some their Hands, some their Hearts, and some their Indifference, with the worst of Enemies.* The Character of Indifferent is at all Times that of a Creature, who is but a mere Expletive in Society, and can be no other Way useful to it, but as he may provide for an Heir, or Successor, who may one Time or other take his Tour of Duty among the rest of Mankind. The Poor and Needy, are his Aversion; the Prosperous and Weakly, his Envy. I speak of the indifferent Man, as he is so unconcerned in the Cause of his Fellow-Creatures; for it is very seldom that this Character is so languid and indolent in Matters which relate to themselves, but have their Passions eager enough in Pursuit of their private Advantage. I say, this is a contemptible Character with Respect to the ordinary Occurrences

currences of Life, but in Times of Danger and Difficulty, when a Man neither with his Pen, his Lips, or his Sword, or by any other laudable Means, exerts himself in the Common Cause, and uses neither his Fortune, or his Capacity to serve his King or Country, his Negligence becomes a Guilty Part, tho' his Fault is not described by our Laws as an Offence: His Behaviour shows we are beholden to Laws only, and not his Virtue, that he is not a greater Trespasser against us. I do not speak this in order to lay Blame upon all Men who are not as zealous as the Gentleman, from whose Writings I take occasion for what I say at present, for all the Apostles had not the Spirit of St. Paul; but I insist, that every Man should look upon himself with Contempt, who does not feel he is as zealous for the Common Cause at this Day, as for the Interest of his private Family. People will be convinced of this, when they do but reflect with what Indifference Twelve Occasional Peers were admitted into the Legislature; with what Indifference *Dunkirk* was left undemolished; with what Indifference an infamous and destructive Peace, was called Safe and Honourable; with what Indifference the Writ of Parliament was delayed for the Electoral Prince; with what Indifference it was publicly and familiarly discoursed, that there should be an Attempt made upon the Regency Bill: This general Indolence, this vile Way of confining a Man's Cares to his own Person and Family, has brought on all our present Calamities; and it is the contrary Temper in some Honest *Englishmen*, that kept alive the very *Idea* of Publick Good: For the Sense of it was for some Years together perverted,

and

and the plain regular Steps towards disappointing us of the present Settlement, were beheld with Indifference. They who were unconcerned, tho' they could not but then see it, give us less Surprise when they are as cold at the Sight of the Effects of those Causes. What makes this still more monstrous, is, that the Word *Party* is still kept up among us, and we cannot better distinguish these Gentlemen, than by the Rule, *That Men easily believe what they wish*. There are Infidels in this Town, that will not give Credit to any Thing that we have heard passed at *Preston*, but that *Dormer* was wounded there; that *Mur* is beaten out of the Field, and has retired where he can hope for no Succour to the Remnant of a Rebellion, does not make him in the least Circumstance, less Terrible in their Eyes than he was before. The Condition of being able to attack the King's Forces, and that flying from them, has with them no manner of Difference, which must proceed from their not caring at all which Side has the Advantage, or their Displeasure, that it is where it is. The State of Indifference in these Cases, is the most inexcusably Faulty of any Vice whatsoever; for the unreasonable Zeal has the Merit of a good Intention, and Cowardice has the Infirmity of Nature in its Excuse, but Indolence has all the Mischiefs of Treason it self, without being liable to the Pains of it. There is more Charity due to him that fights against us, in a Cause he likes, than to him who will let us fight for him, without being anxious for the Dangers we undergo. The *Indifferents* should be thrown into the Mire, by those who Travel on both Sides of the Way, for pretending the Benefit of the Road, without contributing to the making it either Safe or Good. It

It was diverting to a whole Coffee-House the other Day, to hear two of the different Parties, as they were lately called, disputing on the late and present Posture of Affairs! The one railing at the Authors of our Calamity, and being as often interrupted by one who always did, and continues to favour them, grew more calm, and asked Questions with a more composed Tone. Did not, said he, the *British* Ministry, when their Country was at the highest Pitch of Glory, meanly lay down their Arms in the Sight of a vanquished Enemy? Pish, replied the other, ——— still upon that one String. Did they not without the least Regard to the Dignity of their Country, send a Secretary of State to the Enemy's Court, to manage and accommodate the Peace to the *French* Taste? It was answered, that's what you all cried long ago. Did not they Negotiate that *France* and *Spain* should be distinct Potentates with *France* only, in that Act giving up the Question that they should be separate? Pshaw, that's accusing Men by *Innuendo*. Was it not done, and the Pretender's Accession in their very Letters as plainly intimated as the Thing would admit? Nay, nay, ——— that I am sure is an *Innuendo*. Is it an *Innuendo* that there is a Rebellion in Consequence of those very Transactions now in *England*? Has not there been a Battel at *Preston*, which has convinced all of what every one, but those of your Party, saw long enough ago? ——— Nay, now you grow warm, there is no talking with you, if you mention such Things for Arguments. ——— These two People were at it a full half-Hour with great Gravity, the one asking Questions, to which the best Answer was, That they had been asked before. At the End of the Debate, when the poor unan-

unanswered Disputant turned to a third Man, that happened to be one of those Gentlemen above-mentioned by the Name of the *Indifferents*, and asked, Whether it was not a sad Thing, that this Nation should be a Scene of Blood, without so much as having the Pity of some Part of the Natives of it, he was discreetly answered, Sir, *I never concern my self with Party Disputes.*

F I N I S.

Just Publish'd,

AN Account of the State of the Roman-Catholick Religion throughout the World. Written for the Use of Pope Innocent XI. by Monsieur Cerri, Secretary of the Congregation de propaganda Fide. Now first translated from an Authentick Italian MS. never Publish'd. To which is added, A Discourse concerning the State of Religion in England. Written in French, in the Time of King Charles I. and now first translated. With a large Dedication to the Present Pope; giving him a very particular Account of the State of Religion amongst Protestants, and of several other Matters of Importance relating to Great-Britain. By Sir Richard Steele. The Second Edition. Printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-Lane.



A
L E T T E R
FROM THE
E A R L of M A R
TO THE
K I N G,

Before His M A J E S T Y ' s Arrival
in *England*.

With some R E M A R K S on my Lord's
subsequent Conduct.





A

LETTER

FROM THE

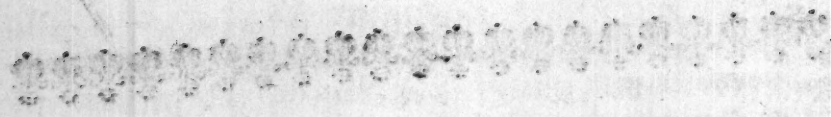
EARL OF MARR

TO THE

KING

Before His Majesty's Arrival
in England.

With some Remarks on the Lords
Subsequent Council.

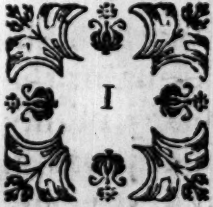


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A
 LETTER
 FROM THE
 Earl of *MAR*
 TO THE
 KING, &c.


 T gives me a lively Sense of the Hard-
 ships of Civil War, wherein all the
 sacred and most intimate Obligations
 between Man and Man are to be torn
 asunder, when I cannot without Pain
 represent to my self the Behaviour of Lord *Mar*,
 with whom I had not ever the Honour of any fur-
 ther Commerce, than the Pleasure of passing some
M 2
agreeable

agreeable Hours at different times in his Company : I say, when even such little Incidents make it irksome to be in a state of War with those with whom we have lived in any degree of Familiarity, how terrible must the Image be of rending the Tyes of Blood, the Sanctions of Affinity and Intermarriage, and the bringing Men, who perhaps in a few Months before were to each other the dearest of all Mankind, to meet on terms of giving Death to each other at the same time that they had rather Embrace? I am forced to reflect, that Lord *Mar* has already taken Measures for bringing Brother against Brother, and Son against Father, to do, with satisfaction to my self, the Duty which I think I owe my King and my Country, of exposing to publick View his present Behaviour. As this cannot be so fairly done by any Method as by Vouchers under his own Hand, I shall produce such, before I can acknowledge I have effaced out of my Mind all Remains of Good-Will or Pity towards a Man, whom to serve I would very lately have hazarded a great deal: But as Circumstances now stand between him and every Man who is faithful to the King, his nearest Friend is obliged to blot out all tender Considerations for him, which is not more hard to do in any one that knew him than my self.

Repeating that this is a Test of the smarter Pain of Wounds in Domestick War, I must acquaint the Reader, that the following is a true Copy of my Lord's Letter to the King, when his Majesty was in *Holland*. I have the Original in my Custody, where it may be perused by any one who has a Curiosity to see it.

Lord

Lord Mar to the KING.

S I R,

‘ **H**AVING the Happiness to be your Majesty’s
 ‘ Subject, and also the Honour of being one
 ‘ of your Servants, as one of your Secretaries of
 ‘ State, I beg leave by this to Kiss your Majesty’s
 ‘ Hand, and Congratulate your happy Accession
 ‘ to the Throne ; which I would have done my self
 ‘ the Honour of doing sooner, had I not hoped to
 ‘ have had the Honour of doing it personally e’er
 ‘ now.

‘ I am afraid I may have had the Misfortune
 ‘ of being misrepresented to your Majesty; and
 ‘ my reason for thinking so is, because I was, I
 ‘ believe, the only one of the late Queen’s Ser-
 ‘ vants, who your Ministers here did not Visit ;
 ‘ which I mentioned to Mr. *Harley*, and the Earl
 ‘ of *Clarendon*, when they went from hence to
 ‘ wait on your Majesty; and your Ministers carry-
 ‘ ing so to me was the occasion of my receiving
 ‘ such Orders as deprived me of the Honour and Sa-
 ‘ tisfaction of waiting on them, and being known
 ‘ to them.

‘ I suppose I had been misrepresented to them
 ‘ by some here upon Account of Parry, or to in-
 ‘ gratiate themselves by aspersing others, as our
 ‘ Parties here too often occasion; But I hope your
 ‘ Majesty will be so just as not to give Credit to
 ‘ such Misrepresentations.

‘ The part I acted in the bringing about and
 ‘ making of the Union, when the Succession to
 ‘ the Crown was settled for *Scotland* on your

' ty's Family, where I had the Honour to serve
 ' as Secretary of State for that Kingdom, doth, I
 ' hope, put my Sincerity and Faithfulness to your
 ' Majesty out of Dispute.

' My Family hath had the Honour for a great
 ' tract of Years to be faithful Servants to the
 ' Crown, and have had the care of the King's
 ' Children (when Kings of *Scotland*) intrusted to
 ' them. A Predecessor of mine was honoured
 ' with the Care of your Majesty's Grand-mother
 ' when young; and she was pleased afterwards
 ' to express some Concern for our Family in
 ' Letters which I still have under her own Hand.

' I have had the Honour to serve Her late
 ' Majesty in one Capacity or other ever since Her
 ' Accession to the Crown. I was happy in a
 ' good Mistress, and she was pleased to have
 ' some Confidence in me, and Regard for my
 ' Services: And since your Majesty's happy Accessi-
 ' on to the Crown, I hope you will find that I
 ' have not been wanting in my Duty in being in-
 ' strumental in keeping Things quiet and peaceable
 ' in the Country to which I belong, and have some
 ' Interest in.

' Your Majesty shall ever find me as faithful and
 ' dutiful a Subject and Servant as ever any of my
 ' Family have been to the Crown, or as I have
 ' been to my late Mistress the Queen. And I beg
 ' Your Majesty may be so good not to believe any
 ' Misrepresentations of me, which nothing but
 ' Party Hatred and my Zeal for the Interest of the
 ' Crown doth occasion; and I hope I may pre-
 ' sume to lay Claim to your Royal Favour or Pro-
 ' tection.

As

‘ As Your Accession to the Crown hath been
 ‘ quiet and peaceable, may your Majesty’s Reign
 ‘ be long and prosperous; and that Your People
 ‘ may soon have the Happiness and Satisfaction of
 ‘ Your Presence amongst them, is the earnest and
 ‘ fervent Wishes of him who is with the humblest
 ‘ Duty and Respect,

S I R,

Your Majesty’s most Faithful,

most Dutiful, and most Obedient

Subject and Servant,

Whitehall, Aug. 30.

O. S. 1714.

Mar.

It is a very wide Step from this dutiful Letter
 to the following Declaration to all the World, and
 Order to his own Agent, which we have seen in
 the *Gazette* of the 24th Instant.

‘ OUR Rightful and Natural King *James* the
 ‘ 8th by the Grace of God, who is now
 ‘ coming to relieve us from our Oppressions,
 ‘ having been pleased to entrust us with the di-
 ‘ rection of his Affairs, and the Command of
 ‘ his Forces in this his ancient Kingdom of
 ‘ Scotland. And some of his faithful Subjects
 ‘ and Servants met at *Aboyne*, viz. The Lord
 ‘ *Huntly*, the Lord *Tullibardine*, the Earl Ma-
 ‘ rischall, the Earl of *Southesk*, *Glingary* from the
 ‘ Clans,

Clans, *Glenderule* from the Earl of *Broadalbaine*, and Gentlemen of *Argyleshire*, Mr. *Patrick Lyon* of *Auchterhouse*, the Laird of *Auldbair*, Lieutenant-General *George Hamilton*, Major-General *Gordon* and my self, having taken into our Consideration his Majesty's last and late Orders to us, find that as this is now the time that he ordered us to appear openly in Arms for him, so it seems to us absolutely neccessor for his Majesty's Service, and the relieving of our native Country from all its hardships, that all his faithful and loving Subjects and Lovers of their Countrey, should with all possible speed put themselves into Arms.

These are therefore in his Majesty's Name and Authority, and by vertue of the power aforesaid, and by the King's special Order to me thereunt, to require and impower you forthwith to raise your fencible Men, with their best Arms, and you are immediately to March them to join me and some other of the King's Forces at the *Inver* of *Bracmar*, on *Monday* next, in order to proceed in our March to attend the King's Standart, with his other Forces.

The King intending that his Forces shall be paid from the time of their setting out, he expects, as he positively orders, that they behave themselves Civilly, and commit no Plundering nor other Disorders upon the highest Penalties and his Displeasure, which is expected you'll see observed.

Now is the time for all good Men to show their Zeal for his Majesty's Service, whose Cause is so deeply concern'd, and the releif of our native Country from Oppression and a foreign Yoke too heavy for us and our Posterity to bear, and to

en-

endeavour the restoring not only of our rightful and native King, but also our Country to its ancient, free and independeal Constitution under him whose Ancestors have reigned over us for so many Generations.

In so honourable, good and just a Cause, we cannot doubt of the Assistance, Direction and Blessing of Almighty God, who has so often rescued the Royal Family of *Stuart*, and our Country from sinking under Oppression.

Your punctual observance of these Orders is expected, for the doing of all which this shall be to you and all you employ in the Execution of them a sufficient Warrant.

To the Baillie and the rest of the Gentlemen of the Lordship of Kildrummy.

Given at Bracmar the 9th of Sept. 1715.

Mar.

bruercauld, Sept. 9. at Night, 1715.

Jocke,

YE was in the right not to come with the 100 Men ye sent up to Night, when I expected four times the Number; it is pretty thing, when all the Highlands of *Scotland* are now rising up on their King and Countries account, as I have accounts from them since they were with me, and the Gentlemen of our neighbouring Lowlands expecting us down to join them, that my Men should be only refractory; is not this the thing we are now about, which they have been wishing these 26 Years, and now when it is come, and the King and Countries Cause at stake, will they for ever sit still and see all perish.

' I have used gentle means too long, and so I shall
 ' be forced to put other Orders I have in execution.
 ' I have sent you enclosed an Order for the Lordship
 ' of *Kildrummy*, which you are immediately to in-
 ' timate to all my Vassals; if they give ready Obe-
 ' dience, it will make some amends, and if not ye
 ' may tell them from me, that it will not be in my
 ' power to save them (were I willing) from being
 ' treated as Enemies by those who are ready soon to
 ' joyn me, and they may depend on it that I will
 ' be the first to propose and order their being so.
 ' Particularly let my own Tenants in *Kildrummy*
 ' know, that if they come not forth with their best
 ' Arms, that I will send a Party immediately to burn
 ' what they shall miss taking from them, and they
 ' may believe this not only a Threat, but by all that's
 ' Sacred I'll put it in execution, let my loss be what
 ' it will, that it may be example to others. You are
 ' to tell the Gentlemen that I'll expect them in their
 ' best Accoutrements on Horseback and no excuse to
 ' be accepted of, go about this with all diligence,
 ' and come your self and let me know your having
 ' done so, all this is not only as ye will be answer-
 ' able to me, but to your King and Country.

Your assured Friend and Servant,
 To John Forbes of Increrau,
Ballie of Kildrummie. *Sic Subscribitur Mar.*

This noble Lord, with the rest of the Nobility,
 took the Oaths to His Majesty King George, and
 did Homage to Him at His Coronation; both,
 which Acts are but further Expressions, not more
 binding to a Man of Honour than what he had said
 before in his Letter. It appears prodigiouſly unac-
 countable how it is possible that Corruption should

so far prevail, as that there does seem to arise among some Men very little Horror when this Obligation of an Oath is mentioned as broken in Political Occasions. If a Man may upon Oath declare, *That the Person pretending to be Prince of Wales, and taking upon himself the Title of James the Third,* has not any Right or Title to the Crown of this Realm, or any other the Dominions thereunto belonging, and promise according to the same Oath he will defend King *George* to the utmost of his Power against all traiterous Conspiracies and Attempts whatsoever, and under the Shelter of the Security and Confidence reposed in such Obligation betray his Sovereign, there can be no such thing as any Band of Society. But Men's own private Interests and Ambition put their Conscience out of its Office, and make it obsequious to their Will, instead of being a Check upon it. Men who have brought themselves to this standing Inadvertency, have brought their Consciences to be very profitable Tools for the Improvement of their Fortunes; for it seems it can purchase for them, but it cannot alienate. If a Man has a mind to an Employment, he may take the Oaths to possess himself of it, but that Oath cannot detain him to the Allegiance of his Prince when he is turned out of his Office. My Lord has not given one Example of Injustice on the Part of the Government, which he can pretend diminish'd his Sovereign's Right to the Duty he subscribes in his Letter of the 30th of *August* 1714, and therefore is as well in common Sense as Law a Traytor for his Declaration that another is his rightful and natural King on the 9th of *September* 1715. His Lordship in his Declaration speaks of Oppression for these Twenty Six Years past in general
Terms;

Terms ; there is no one Instance wherein the King's is severed from the Two preceeding Reigns ; so that the Reign of his Good Mistress was an Oppression, as well as this in which he rebels : But my Lord assigns the Reasons which sanctified her Power to him, *He had the Honour to serve Her in one Capacity or other, ever since Her Accession to the Crown.*

But it has been long the Language of all the Conspirators, who have manifested themselves of late, to cover themselves by extolling the Queen whom they betrayed, and at the same Time, imputing their ill Conduct to Her Commands : My Lord, in the same Temper and Spirit with the rest, seems to impute his Disrespect to the *Hanover* Ministers to the Command of his Mistress. He tells the King his Ministers *carrying so to him*, occasioned that he had *such Orders* as deprived him of the Honour of being known to them.

My Lord supposes he has been misrepresented upon account of Party. I hope that Phrase will be utterly lost, or be spoken of another Kind of Men than hitherto it has been understood to describe. Is it then true what the Whigs intimated, and the more moderate of them would not believe, that Whig and Tory were at the Bottom *Jacobite* and *Hanoverian*, the Promoters of Slavery, and the Friends of Liberty ? Poor *Jocke* in the High-Lands has, for the Fourth Part of a Century, known more than any of us in Town : The Lordship of *Kildrumny* was in the Secret all along. *Is not this* (says my Lord to them) *the Thing we are now upon which they have been wishing these Twenty Six Years ? It's a pretty Thing*, as my Lord very well expresses himself, that none of those who meant this all along should shew themselves now,
but

but have perjured themselves in vain for these Three last Reigns, *to sit still and see all perish at last.*

A Leader who has so little Force at present, and is so little skilled in the Art of Persuasion, cannot, in himself, appear very formidable; but when the most solemn Tyes are of no manner of Force, who can avoid apprehending even from his next Friend or Neighbour all the Miseries of War as Occasion shall offer? We have with some Narrowness of Spirit, in many Cases, been very harsh upon poor Nonjurors, who have deny'd giving the Government the Security it required of them, and pretended to nothing but bare Protection, and Leave to live. But we have no Name for Men who act publicly under the same Government with us, and are constantly meditating our Ruin. These *Conjurors*, with whom we repeat the same Words at a Bar or a Table, and have gone on very lovingly after the Clerk, and begin all together with one Voice *Do swear*, it seems have minded what they said no more than if it were a Matter of mere Form, like taking up or laying down a Mace, or bowing to an empty Chair, which is done only as an Overt Act, signifying that we are now going upon Business, or the like. We have all seen and heard the *Conjurors* speak very roundly out, (tho' now and then one repeats as if chawing Thistles;) and indeed some have observed that they showed little Relish to, or over-acted what they were doing; but I have always thought, till of late, that these Reflections were unmanly and uncharitable. But it is not growing insolent, to take notice from Events, there are every Day new Proofs, that what, in common Charity and Humanity, one would have
thought

thought the most cruel Asperſion, is not only true, but with greater Aggravations than their moſt violent Enemies could have ſuppoſed the *Conjurors* could have been guilty of. We have long had this kind of Imputation laid at the Door of the Church of *Rome*. They, it has been ſaid, have had, for the Service of the Faith on particular Occaſions, a Suſpenſion of the Divine Vengeance from the Pope, by plenary Letters of Indulgence in that Behalf: But our *Conjurors*, whom we have looked upon, as to the generality of them, a miſſed, thoughtleſs, but far from a deſigning Set of Men, are, ſo far from wanting Diſpenſations, that they are void of all Senſe of Conſcience, when they betray and uſe Perjury as a mere Expedient to do it with better Opportunities.

It is hard not to grow very grave on ſuch an Occaſion; but, without pretending to ſet up for much of the Divine or the Cauiſt, who is there that does not know that the Foundation of Moral Virtue is Juſtice? This is what reſpects the Community. One might deſire theſe Gentlemen to recollect, that when a Man offends againſt Temperance and the like, he hurts only his individual Self; but Society cannot ſubſiſt without the Practice of Juſtice. It is from this that nothing is more highly reſented, or eſteemed ſo odious as Breach of Promiſe; and notorious Neglect of this Kind always makes a Man, according to the reſpective Caſes in which he treſpaſſes, either deteſtable or inconfiderable. To guard againſt this looſe Behaviour in Matters of Moment, and to ſecure Humane Society againſt Breach of Faith, God is made a Witneſs in the Promiſes which Man makes

makes to Man, on Pain of his Displeasure. We know he knows all we all do, and in this Act call upon Him to observe what we do, and avenge himself in case of our Falshood. What was before purely Morality, is by this Act become Religion. How great then is the Guilt of breaking through this solemn Appeal? Will our taking it lightly make it less sacred? If not, what is the Guilt of entring into this Obligation with no other View but to violate it?

It is certain that he who does not think a Government just, ought not to swear to it; but when he has done so, there is no Consideration can absolve him of that Oath. As mutual Faith is the Support of Society, an Oath is the highest Obligation to keep that Faith inviolate. But this Question is excellently well considered in a little Pamphlet, called, *Advice to the Tories who have taken the Oaths*, to which I recommend my Reader. What I thought serviceable in publishing this Paper is, to shew that my Lord Mar, whatever the Guilt of professing to be in the King's Interest, and being at the same time in Measures against Him, is, has that Guilt upon him. The poor Vassals who follow him as their Leader, and a Man of Honour and Quality, that should know better than themselves what is the Duty of an honest Man, are not acquainted that he has violated all that is good and sacred; and all who may be in Inclination with him, may, from the Knowledge of his personal Behaviour to the King, either change their Minds, or at least not chuse to follow one who has been guilty of so solemn a Falshood. It is not possible to have any Notion, consistent with Honour, to reconcile this Treachery. Perjury

jury is not a Fault incurred by Surprize, by sudden Instigation of Desire, or Passion; it is no way to be accounted for by the Force which false Gallantry or Mode of Life has upon our Actions: Perjury is a cool deliberate Crime, committed in Defiance of God, to do Violence to Man. How monstrous therefore must it appear, that a Man who barely to mend his own Affairs, or to gratify his Ambition, can meditate the Disturbance of all the rest of the World, and at the Expence of the Lives and Fortunes of the best of a whole People, break through all that is Sacred, only to be himself a little more at Ease, and enjoy that silly Pleasure called Pomp?

In fine, the Earl of *Mar*, without any Provocation, or pretended Provocation to exasperate him as a Man, as a Subject, as a Gentleman, as a Nobleman, laying aside his private Faith given under his own Hand, as well as the publick Obligation of the most sacred Oaths, is now in Rebellion against a Sovereign, who had, at his humble Suit, consented to let him feel His Annual Bounty; to introduce an Out-Law whom he had abjured, from no other Motive but Hopes of larger Supplies to his Avarice and Ambition.

His Ingratitude is not only that of a Subject, who had the Protection of his Prince in common with the rest, but that of a Man who stood justly suspected by the King; and after His Majesty's most generous Neglect of all that might be objected against him, was further engaged by the Receipt of undeserved, and therefore the more binding Favour.

F I N I S.

